Ellen C Morris

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THE STANDARD.

THE TREATMENT OF BLACK FUGITIVES.

From The Evening Post.

THE government has at last made the decision of a question that was long since forced upon it by circumstances, and which ought long since to have been answered. Gen. Butler, of Fortress Monroe, has a thousand Virginia negroes in his possession, and he lately wrote a letter to the Secretary of War requesting instructions as to what he should do with them. They are composed of men, women and children, and are reported to be slaves, who have either run away from their masters or been abandoned by them, and they seek safety and shelter within the lines of our camp.

In the first view of the case, and under the Constitution of the United States, these are all human beings, and nothing more nor less. They are black men, women and children, who come to supplicate our protection amid the actual or apprehended horrors of a civil war. It would seem clear that they are to be treated like any other human beings. The Federal government, as such, knows of no distinctions of race or person within its own peculiar jurisdiction. Slavery exists only in the States, and by virtue of the laws of the States. It is utterly unknown to the Federal power, and is recognized by the latter, when recognized at all, as a municipal regulation only, having no existence or force outside of the municipal laws. No one claiming the protection of the laws of the United States can be regarded as a slave at all, until he has been proved so by regular judicial process.

Mr. Cameron, in his reply to Gen. Butler, appears to have forgotten, to a certain extent, this fundamental principle. He assumes throughout his letter that these blacks at Fortress Monroe are slaves, and then he decides, 1st, That the laws of all loyal States are to be enforced as usual, which is perfectly proper; 2d, that "persons held to service" who are employed in acts hostile to the government shall, according to the law of August 6th, 1861, be discharged from their service, which is also perfectly proper; and 3d, that other black fugitives shall be set to work, an account kept of their time, the names of their masters, whether loyal or disloyal, put on record, and then, when peace comes, it is intimated, Congress will provide for the reward of their labor and "the just compensation of loyal masters."

This assumes throughout that all the black fugitives are slaves, though it is known that there are many free negroes in Virginia. It assumes that they are slaves, although it does not appear that any one has asserted claims of ownership to the greater part of them. It assumes that they are slaves, although a large, perhaps the larger part of them, say they have been abandoned by their former masters, and therefore like other waifs, or like the *jetsam* and *flotsam* of the sea, are free. It does not say what is to be done with the women, who are able to perform only part of the labors of camps, or with the children, who cannot labor at all. Are these, too, to be treated as slaves, and at the end of the war sent back to their pretended owners, having been tenderly cared for by the United States government in the interval? Mr. Cameron thus proceeds upon a wrong hypothesis, while he applies the resulting principle to only a part of his case.

In our opinion, these fugitives are to be disposed of in precisely the same manner as other fugitives. Until they are proved to be slaves by judicial process they are free men. If they are able and willing to work in the armies, they should be set to work; if they are not able to work, they are eleemosynary subjects, to be treated like other eleemosynary subjects; but in no case is the government to be converted into a great slaveholder or slave factor. When it employs black men, it must account to them as to other persons. It cannot work them on the account of any alleged owners, without acknowledging the right of property in man and making itself a party to the slave system. Loyal owners of slaves must take care of their slaves, and when they run away, can recover them only by the regular process of law. If the laws are suspended by the acts of the rebels, it is their misfortune. They must suffer in their slaves as they do in their other property. Our soldiers cannot take upon themselves the character of slave-catchers. Our camps cannot be transformed into great coffles or slave-pens. As we do not make war for the benefit of loyal slave-masters, or for the benefit of any other special class, but for the benefit of the general community, so must they, as a class, consent, like other classes, to share in the burdens of war for the sake of its general ends.

CAMERON AND THE CONTRABANDS.

From The Evening Post.

IN speaking lately of Mr. Cameron's ill-conceived letter on the subject of returning fugitive negroes, we said there was much in it to approve and much to condemn. The great, radical, fatal fault of it is, that it does not proclaim the principle, which is a fundamental one in our politics, that the Federal Constitution knows nothing of slaves, as slaves, that it knows man only as man, and that no one acting under it has a right to assume, for one moment, the existence of any class of men upon this continent but freemen. We wish, said Madison, when he moved to erase the word servitude from the original draft of the Constitution, that this document should be the great charter of human liberty, so that our posterity shall not even know that such a crime as slavery existed amongst us. In the spirit of this truth the Federal Administration should always be conducted.

But apart from this general defect, there are one or two special flaws in Mr. Cameron's communication. "You will not," he says to army officers, "except in cases where the public good may seem to require it, prevent the voluntary return of any fugitive to the service from which he may have escaped." But the public good requires, in all cases, that these fugitives should not be allowed to return. They are not mere dumb, unreasoning animals; many of them are persons of great acuteness of observation; they have both eyes and minds; can see what is going on about them, and describe faithfully what they see; and no better spies need be desired by the rebels than such men would make. What is to hinder the Confederate leaders from sending their trustworthy and intelligent slaves into our camps, where they will be received and labor for a while as fugitives, until, having learned all that is needful of the number and disposition of our forces, they may desire to return home? "You must not prevent them," says Mr. Cameron to his officers. He ought to have said, you must prevent them, by all means; but with singular inconsistency, he prescribes the very course that he ought to forbid. He proclaims to the rebels that if, in lack of other sources of information, they will send their slaves into our camps, on any plausible pretext, they will be well taken care of, supplied with all due information, and when the proper time comes, be allowed to go home with their noddles full of news. With all becoming respect to the government, we must say, that this is a gross stupidity. No white man assuredly would be received and returned under the same conditions.

Again, Mr. Cameron assures "loyal masters"—by which he means masters who, in the presence of our army, profess an attachment to the Union—that, after the war is over, "they shall receive a just compensation" for the services of their fugitive slaves. The compensation, it seems to us, ought to be assured to the man who does the work, and not to another who pretends to be his owner. In taking such a position, the government acknowledges the right of property in man, which it has been the policy, not only of the Republican party, but of all parties up to a recent period, to avoid. It does more: it converts itself into a fiduciary slaveholder and factor. It takes charge of the property of "loyal masters" for them during the war. It says to this class: "Send your slaves to us, if you cannot support them; we will care for them and afterwards pay you for their use." What have these "loyal masters" done that they should become the pets of the government? Why are their people entitled to a support at the expense of the public, more than any other people?

What is still worse in Mr. Cameron's instructions is, that they depart fundamentally from the invariable precedents established by all previous Administrations. In every war that we have yet waged, slaves coming into our camps, either as captives or voluntary fugitives, were treated strictly according to the laws of war. General Jackson, in 1814, at New Orleans, impressed slaves into his service; many of them were killed; many kept at work till the end of the war; several of the most faithful were set at liberty. But he steadily refused to pay their masters for their loss or their services. It was enough that he and they together defended those masters from the enemy. His action was approved by President Madison and by the subsequent Congress. In 1836, in Florida, General Jessup used slaves for his guides and spies, and when they had served him well he set them free. Their loyal masters claimed compensation of Van Buren first, and then of Tyler, but got nothing from either. In the same campaign a slave was captured as a spy and sent West. His loyal master tried to get his money's worth, but Congress laughed at his claim. In 1838, again, General Gaines decided, in the cases of fugitives who had been seized and set free, that "the military officer can enter into no judicial examination of the claim of one man to the bone and muscle of another as property. Nor could he, as a military officer, know what the laws of Florida were while engaged in maintaining the Federal government by force of arms. In such case, he could only be guided by the laws of war; and whatever may be the laws of any State, they must yield to the safety of the Federal government."

All these cases prove that the government can make no distinction between slaves and other persons: that if they are engaged in war against us, they are our enemies, and are to be treated as enemies; and that if they are friendly they are to be set to work to assist us, receiving for their services what they are worth. If, at the end of the war, they want to go home or elsewhere, it is not the business of the government to interfere with their purposes. Above all, it is not to transform itself into the grand catch-pole of slavery, but leave the debate between masters and servants to the judiciary of the nation, which is amply empowered and quite competent to make a righteous decision. If masters, after peace returns, desire to recover their lost servants, they must do so according to the legal forms. While we are at war we cannot stop to adjudicate their claims, or to make special regulations and exertions in their behalf.

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION AT NEW BEDFORD.

From The New Bedford Standard.

THE celebration of the colored citizens of New Bedford, in commemoration of the twenty-seventh anniversary of British West India Emancipation, took place at Arnold's Grove on Friday afternoon, Aug. 2d.

The meeting was organized with the following officers: *President*, Alfred Swan; *Vice-Presidents*, Charles Allen, Rev. Wm. Jackson, Dr. Thomas Bayne, Wm. Henry Johnson; *Secretaries*, Dr. William P. Powell, Jr., John Freedom.

Rev. Edmund Kelley officiated as chaplain, and offered prayer.

The following resolutions were offered by Wm. P. Powell:

Whereas, In order to subjugate the legitimate government of the United States, his un-excellency, the arch-traitor and would-be President, Jeff. Davis, issued his proclamation at Montgomery, to commission letters of marque to make reprisals upon the lawful property of loyal American citizens; and,

Whereas, In view of this atrocious fact, several piratical vessels are already in commission and several vessels and cargoes seized and forfeited, and several loyal colored American citizens sold into life-long slavery, contrary to the codes of civil warfare and international law; therefore,

Resolved, That Wm. Tillman, the colored steward of the schooner S. J. Waring, seized by the piratical brig Jeff. Davis, 7th July, for his heroic act, in recapturing said vessel and cargo, by unwillingly taking the lives of the piratical crew, thereby saving valuable property to the amount of $100,000; and also in saving what is of more value than money, his own liberty, is entitled to the unanimous thanks of the United States Congress.

That a committee of three be appointed to forward these resolutions to the Hon. T. Dawes Eliot, Representative from this District, and present the same to Congress.

The resolutions were adopted.

Eloquent and interesting addresses were made by Rev. Mr. Girdwood, Dr. Stearns, Hon. Rodney French, Dr. Bayne, Rev. Thomas Jones, Dr. William Powell, David W. Ruggles, and William Henry Johnson.

The following preamble and resolution offered by Dr. Bayne was also adopted:

Whereas, the colored people of this Commonwealth have applied to the Legislature to have the word white stricken from the militia list that the colored men of this Commonwealth might render loyal service in times of war; and,

Whereas, His Excellency ex-Governor Banks has decided that the grant of such a petition would be unconstitutional; therefore,

Resolved, That we, as colored men, regard it hypocritical and wicked in those that ask us, as colored men, why we do not go to war.

The assembly was quite large and respectable, and everything was conducted in the most orderly and satisfactory manner.

UNLAWFUL RESTRAINT.

From The Evening Post.

A FEW days ago one of the New York regiments was leaving Washington for this city. The soldiers had with them fourteen black men, who had been employed as servants in the regiment, and who were now about to accompany it North. But at the depôt these negroes were turned back by an officer of the United States army, who informed them that they could not be permitted to accompany their employers. We have heard of several other cases of this kind, where black men, against whom no charge was made of any kind whatever, except that they were black, were refused permission to leave Washington. In one case a poor fellow thus deprived of the means of earning his subsistence, and fearing that in the capital he would not be able to get service, or food even, concluded to go over into Virginia. But at the Long Bridge he was met by another United States officer, who informed him that neither could he be permitted to leave Washington by this way. This last command was proper enough, because the man might have been a spy, and at that time the order had not gone forth, granting to blacks the special privilege carefully refused to whites, of leaving our camps for the enemy's lines whenever they choose.

But consider the situation of these men, who are condemned, being charged with no crime or offence, to remain in a city where provisions are high, labor of the kind they had been used to not in demand, and where they must, by consequence, either starve, steal or beg.

It will be said that there was reason to suppose that these men had been slaves. A few days ago we recited in these columns precedents which prove that the military power of the government has always, even when wielded by slaveholders, refused to recognize the State laws creating slavery, while in the performance of the duty of defending the General government. General Jackson, who decided thus in New Orleans, was a slaveholder. General Jessup, who decided thus in Florida, was a slaveholder. General Gaines, a Virginian by birth, a Louisianian by residence, and also a slaveholder, declared, in 1838, in the case of several fugitive slaves who had been seized and set free, that "the military officer can enter into no judicial examination of the claim of one man to the bone and muscle of another as property. Nor could he, as a military officer, know what the laws of Florida were, while engaged in maintaining the Federal government by force of arms. In such case he would only be guided by the laws of war; and whatever may be the laws of any State, they must yield to the safety of the Federal government."

But these were cases where negroes, or their value, were actually claimed by persons who were prepared to prove themselves their masters, while no shadow of claim was made upon those who were refused permission to leave Washington. Indeed, the Provost Marshal's order does not pretend that such claims have been made. It declares that "No negroes, without sufficient evidence of their being free, or of their right to travel, are permitted to leave the city on the cars." It might as well be ordered that no person shall be permitted to leave Washington "on the cars" unless he can prove that he has never stolen a cent of money in his life. The one is no more absurd than the other; for it is clearly as difficult for a man to prove that he has not been a slave as that he has not been a thief. In this way the Provost Marshal or the President might have kept the whole Congress in Washington for the balance of their lives. In such cases the burden of proof must be upon the accusers or complainant—and here was no claimant to these negroes.

It seems to us that in pursuing this course the government is plainly exceeding its rightful powers. The Constitution does not commit to it the duty of hunting up fugitive slaves. That office the master himself must perform; and the government has no concern in the matter at all, until the master has discovered and captured the person he claims as owing him service. Only when he has accomplished this does it interfere, and then only to prevent the claimant from taking away his "servant" without proof that he has actually lawful right to his service. It requires that the master shall appear before the United States officer and establish his claim, before he can force the negro to accompany him.

It follows that the government has no right, power, or authority to detain a black man, any more than a white man. Both must submit to a military necessity. If a General in our armies needs laborers, he can, under the military law, force all men he can lay his hands on, both black and white, to perform the duties which are required in an emergency. If he has no such needs, he has no more right to detain a black man who comes into his camp than a white man who comes in the same manner. The government knows no distinction of colors. It has no right to detain persons who are accused of no crime. It does wrong when it makes any distinction between the white and black fugitives who take refuge in our camps or cities from the cruelties and violence of the enemy. It must treat all alike, because, in the eyes of the supreme law of the land, they *are* all alike.

THE FIRST OF AUGUST AT ABINGTON.

From The Liberator.

Speech of Mr. Garrison.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, the Chairman, addressed the meeting. He said the impression seemed to prevail in some minds, that there was a disposition in the ranks of the Abolitionists to consider their work so well-nigh accomplished, that they had nothing to do but to stand still and suspend all action; but he was not aware of the existence of any such feeling. There was no design, on the part of those who had the management of this cause, to abate one jot or tittle of their purpose to see that slavery is utterly abolished. He thought they had need of increased vigilance. They were in the midst of a great and solemn crisis; and if the nation was to be saved, it would be, under God, by the Abolitionists—by those who are resolved to make no compromise with the Slave Power, but to demand, in the name of the living God, that every slave shall be set free; proclaiming, in His name, and by His authority, that, for this people, there is neither peace nor prosperity, so long as a single slave is left in his fetters on our soil. He hoped they would do all that they could, at the present time, by way of contributions, to aid the efforts that would be made by those to whose hands the management of the cause had been entrusted.

Mr. Garrison then proceeded to speak in reference to the war. We had vain-gloriously imagined, he said, hitherto, that, as a nation, we were invulnerable and immortal. All the warnings of the friends of the slave had been laughed to scorn, and it had been supposed that by no possibility could any harm come to us, as a nation. But now, the most tremendous civil war that the world had ever seen was raging between the North and the South—the pillars of the government were trembling—and men's hearts were failing them for fear. What was the cause of this state of things? Every intelligent and honest man knew it was SLAVERY. If, therefore, they hoped to have peace, prosperity and safety, the war must not be terminated until "liberty be proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof." Freedom was loyal to righteous law and just government. The conspirators were slaveholders and slave-breeders, and slave-hunters, and only these. They were the party who were seeking to establish a reign of despotism which should blot out all our free institutions, as well as perpetuate slavery on Southern soil. They hate, and proclaim that they hate, all that pertains to freedom; and when the black banner of slavery should be hoisted triumphantly here, as it was in Carolina and Georgia, all our democratic institutions would be overthrown. What, then, was the obvious duty of the government? Evidently this—to declare that, inasmuch as it is slavery that has committed this treason, the government, under the war power, and as a matter of self-preservation, must abolish slavery. Until that was done, in his judgment, nothing was done; nothing but the shedding of blood in vain; nothing but the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars in vain. He held the South to be perfectly invincible so long as we protected or respected her slave system. The South felt that she was unconquerable, and would be in the end triumphant, because she saw that we were still bewitched by the sorcery of slavery, declaring, even in the midst of our sufferings, losses, bereavements, and enormous expenditures of money, that we have no wish or intention to interfere with her accursed "institution." But let this government write the motto on her banner, "*Freedom for all who shall rally under the Stars and Stripes!*" and in that hour the death-blow is given to treason and secession. "Where there is no fuel, the fire goeth out." The South dreaded nothing so much as the liberation of her slave population; she dreaded it more than she did the armies of the North, because a retributive Providence has so ordered it, that the knees of the oppressor shall smite together in the presence of his slave standing erect as a man. The slaves must be called upon to save us, themselves and the country; for they alone could do it. This would be a noble and glorious return for all the wrongs and outrages that have been inflicted upon them.

What infatuation, as well as wickedness, in our government, still seeking to maintain and perpetuate slavery, by compromise, under the old "covenant with death," when that covenant is trodden under foot by the slavocracy, and discarded forever by them! Let emancipation be proclaimed! He held it to be not only a wise stroke of policy in war, but the imperative and Christian duty of the government to do this. God had commanded us to "execute judgment in the morning"—that is, without delay—and to "deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, lest My fury might not go out like fire, and burn because of the evil of our doings." In the altered state of affairs, a solemn obligation rested upon the people and the government to emancipate those who are pining in bondage; and not to do this was to be guilty in the highest degree. They had a right to do it. The South was in hot rebellion, endeavoring to subjugate the whole country to her diabolical will. Under the war power, the government had a right to consult its safety and the general welfare by removing the source of danger and division. Even if it were a destructive work to be consummated—like burning their towns and cities, or confiscating legitimate property—it might be done to any extent, under the rules of war. But it was to do no violence, and commit no outrage. On the contrary, it was to perform a work of inestimable beneficence and imperishable glory. It was to "break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free"; and thus to do the greatest possible benefit to the South, to return blessing for cursing, good for evil, and to bring salvation to the whole country. This great act of justice would certainly disarm and suppress the rebellious slave oligarchy, and bring the war speedily to a close. He held, therefore, that the only thing the friends of freedom had to do, there and everywhere, was to cry aloud, in thunder tones, to the government, to lose no time in proclaiming to the millions in bondage in the South, that, as soon as they can place themselves under the national flag, they shall find their freedom and be protected in it. Otherwise, he did not see a ray of hope for the North, or any part of the country, so far as the war was concerned. None but the slaves could conquer the South, and that, not by the bloody process of insurrection, but by proclaiming their freedom under law. When slavery was abolished, the cause of the war would be gone, and the slaveholders would have nothing to fight for. This was to lay the axe at the root of the tree, and to bring it at once to the ground.

The nation, said Mr. Garrison, in conclusion, is just as near destruction as it can be, and yet be saved. God knows whether its salvation is possible or not. But I say again, deliverance to us all must come, if at all, through those who are in bondage. We have outraged them in every possible manner; we have made them marketable commodities; we have herded them with four-footed beasts; and now, in the extremity of our suffering, we must look to them to save the [illegible]public by restoring to them their wrested rights, [illegible] their forces with those of the government, they will strike terror to the hearts of the tyrant, and peace will soon be restored to our bleeding and dissevered country. My friends, our word must be—Emancipation for all in bondage! Emancipation under the national flag! Emancipation under the war power! Emancipation, because it is a matter of necessity, because it is right, and because it is our imperative duty before God (applause).

Speech of Andrew T. Foss.

ANDREW T. FOSS, of New Hampshire, was introduced. He said he had often appeared before anti-slavery audiences, and he believed never with a lengthened visage. He had always been hopeful of the success of this cause, and never could doubt that it would have even an early triumph. But never had his hopes been so strong or his feelings so exuberant as they were now. He believed that their work was about culminating, and that they were to see in their time, what does not often fall to the lot of those who commence a great reform, the fulfilment of all their prophecies and the realization of all their hopes. He believed that, in their day, they were to see every slave in the land a free man.

He was full of hope and expectation, because he saw the North and the South arrayed against each other in battle array. He knew it was not an anti-[illegible] war, and that the government had declared their determination to preserve their "covenant with death and agreement with hell." But there was a power in the world other than the Constitution of this land. The American people and Church did not believe in a "Higher Law"; they believed that the Constitution of the United States was the highest authority in the universe. He believed that there was a "Higher Law," and that that "covenant with death and agreement with hell" was annulled. He did not believe there was virtue enough in the American people to abolish slavery. The voice of God, calling upon them to let the oppressed go free, had been unheeded. But they had passions, if they had not a love for truth and justice. This war had made a great many converts to anti-slavery, and among them, many of the clergy. Now, Dr. Adams was no Abolitionist—gone to bed with Mr. Garrison (laughter and applause)—and Dr. Kirk, even, was praising his (Mr. G.'s) principles. He felt about them very much as the good old mother in Israel felt about one of her grandsons, who had been a very bad boy, and made a great deal of sport of religion, but who went to hear Mr. Maffit, and was converted. She went over to him, just as he was saying "Glory!" "Glory!" and exclaimed—"Don't you come out yet; you have been too great a sinner. You ought to eat more of [illegible] yarbs of repentance!" (Great merriment.) So I say, they ought to "eat more of the bitter yarbs of repentance";—but out they come! (Renewed laughter.)

He believed that all this stir and commotion meant freedom to the slave. But he felt that it was a very solemn thing to be surrounded by circumstances such as those in the midst of which they stood to-day. He did not feel light-hearted in view of the fact that thousands of his fellow-men, in the South as well as the North—for they, too, were men; even those who bayoneted the wounded on the battle-field were his fellow-men—must be slain in this war. It was sad and terrible to think of it. But what was the cause? The cause was slavery. Yet the people did not understand it. Stephen A. Douglas had said that this was not a "nigger" question, but a question of the life of the government. But how came the life of the government in danger? Not from any cause under heaven but slavery. It was the slaveholders of this land who were the rebels, and in arms to-day against the government, and if all the slaveholders should lay down their arms, there would be no contest whatever. If, thirty years ago, the American people would have heeded the word of Mr. Garrison, this question might have had a peaceful solution. If, when the Constitution was founded, our fathers had believed in right and justice, and made the Constitution for freedom, excluding slavery, we should not have been where we are to-day. It was too late now—the time had gone by.

Something had been said in regard to whether they should go on with their operations. By all means. Every argument that had been made by the Abolitionists in regard to slavery for thirty years was now proved and demonstrated before the eyes of all men. This was the time to keep the eyes and ears of men open. Nothing but the anti-slavery sentiment could save the government from compromise. He did not feel very much concerned in his mind in regard to what the government intended or what measures they pursued in this matter. It was not for the government to say what shall be the issue of the war. They might decree that not a slave should be freed; they could not help it. He did not believe that Abraham Lincoln, or Gen. Scott, so far as the issue of this war was concerned, had much more influence upon it than a cab-driver in the city of Washington. They were determined to reinaugurate the old Union, but it was not in their power to do it. Events ruled, not men. President Lincoln said he would not invade the soil of the Southern States; but now he had little less than a hundred thousand troops there. He had been forced to do what he did not intend to do. The bill just passed by Congress in regard to the [illegible]ation of rebel property was capable of being construed into an act of emancipation that should free every slave in the land. He knew the government did not mean it; but he knew also that it could not help it, and every slave should yet be free. God always took care to have us run in the right direction, take what course we would. The slave was to have his freedom; and when he had his freedom, he (Mr. F.) would have his jubilee. They should all yet rejoice in the freedom of the slaves. It was true, that clouds, heavy and black, now hung over the land, but he saw the sun-light of liberty shining through the rifts. Those clouds would roll back, and we should see the day of peace and of freedom; and then, the Abolitionists would take an interest in the institutions of the country, and be like other men. But until the slave was delivered, he, for one, did not mean to be like other people. He meant to be a despised and hated Abolitionist, making all Hunkerdom mad (laughter and applause).

I give you my word of cheer, said Mr. Foss, as he took his seat. "The Lord liveth; let the earth rejoice!" (Applause.)

Speech of Parker Pillsbury.

MR. PILLSBURY introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That a "United North," to defend the present Constitution, is no evidence, or necessary indication, of hostility to slavery; but instead, while slave insurrections are to be suppressed, in the fearful words of Gen. McClellan, "with an iron arm," and crouching fugitive slave men and women are to be driven back, by hundreds at a time, to their tyrant masters by Northern Generals, and so-called loyal citizens, as well in "seceded" as in "border States," are assured by the President (since the war, as before) that they shall be religiously protected in their slave property, and their system constitutionally and *irrevocably* perpetuated by act of Congress, notwithstanding the war, we are left to fear and to believe, that should the whole adjustment of the present controversy be left to the powers that now direct and rule, the result will be all the disastrous calamities of a terrible war, with no possible gain to Humanity and Freedom.

Mr. Pillsbury said that Mr. Phillips had criticised the government, in the morning, with great force and great justice, as he thought, and he was ready to adjourn, *sine die*, at the end of his (Mr. Phillips's) speech. He thought the people had just cause to suspect the government of treason. He had no belief that there was a man who had any idea of proceeding even to the extremes he had already reached. The North had hitherto been controlled by two classes of men: political aspirants, who sought to turn the present tide of affairs to their advantage; and the army contractors, as destructive and loathsome as the [illegible] "army worm" which had recently made its [illegible]rance in Massachusetts. The ten plagues of [illegible] would scarcely increase the calamity when we had them both! (Laughter.)

The people, Mr. P. said, were allowing themselves to be deceived with the idea of an "united North." It was true, the North was united; but it was still a Union and still *to be* a Union with slavery and slaveholders. Hitherto it had meant nothing else, and we were indebted to the South for whatever progress had been made; and if the South continued to act her part as favorably towards us as she had done, whatever victory was achieved, we should at last owe it to her. But for the cannonade of Fort Sumter, there would have been no beginning of the present war. But for the mob in Baltimore, there would have been no increase of the seventy-five thousand men originally called to the field. But for the attempts to poison the troops with strychnine and Virginia whiskey (the strychnine getting the worst of it in the compound), and the piratical enterprise of Jefferson Davis, there never would have been that Northern uprising which we had to-day. Then the government [illegible] to the Virginia Legislature for relieving the departments at Washington from traitors. They passed a law exiling them forever from the State if they remained, and there was a stampede of clerks out of Washington, just as there was of slaves to Fortress Monroe. It had been said, when the question was asked why they had been permitted to retain their offices, that the public interest absolutely required it. Now that they had gone, he supposed the "public interest" would subside (laughter).

What the government had done hitherto had tended far more to sustain and defend the South than to defend the government, as a whole. He did not believe there was any intention to carry forward the struggle in the sense which Mr. Foss supposed, and he thought the public ought to be cautioned against all these fair appearances. He did not know but slavery would be abolished by this war, but he was very far from expecting any sympathy, much less countenance, from the government in such a measure. He should as soon have thought of fraternizing with Pilate and Herod because out of the crucifixion of the Son of God might come the salvation of the world. It seemed to him that, in view of the action of the government in regard to the slaves, that they had something else to do besides assuming themselves that ultimately, in the administration of the Divine government, the slave system of the country will be overthrown. He saw no sign of the abolition of slavery. On the contrary, he saw every sign of all the horrors and calamities of the most frightful civil war known in history, with no good whatever to result from it at the end.

Mr. P. thought that, since the battle of Bull Run, the public sentiment of the North had retrograded, and in confirmation of his opinion, read an extract from a letter in the Boston *Herald*, in which the writer says, among other things, that the Abolition party must be killed in Massachusetts, and that that would "do more to show our Southern friends that we are really friends to them, than all other things combined"! He also read from an editorial in *The Herald*, in which it is declared—"*The Herald* will oppose all attempts to make this an Abolition war, or to foist upon the country the dogmas of Sumner, Wilson and Andrew. These men have done mischief enough. The war should be brought to as speedy a termination as possible, having a due regard to our national honor." While the distress and suffering and poverty created by the war were increasing, it became them to attend to this under current of feeling which finds voice in such organs as *The Herald* and *The Journal of Commerce* in New York, and the Boston *Herald*.

Our government was a failure. There was no man in it. The hour had come, and there was no man equal to the emergency. We had at the North nineteen or twenty millions; and yet Diogenes, with his lighted lantern at noon-day, would search as hopelessly for a *man* among these millions as when he searched the streets of Athens for the same purpose, two thousand years ago. The politicians who controlled public events had no anti-slavery heart in the matter. He doubted not that Abraham Lincoln would rather abolish slavery than see it continue, and he believed that the majority of Northern Democrats would be glad to get rid of that which had been the ruin of their party and of so many other parties; but then, they were without a controlling element at the centre. They were a great body, but where was the soul? There was no direction, no capability, and, what was far worse, no honesty and no integrity. Politicians and parties had been tried before. The Whig party had been tried; and the cause of humanity owed more to the Whig party, in the day of its departure, than it owes to the Republican party. There was no Republican party now. The only issue that separated them from the Douglas Democracy had been abandoned, and their action in regard to the organization of the Territories showed that they cared no more than Douglas whether slavery was "voted up or voted down."

We had had, so far, the most convincing proof that the politicians had deceived us, intentionally, from the beginning. They had said that the South could not fight if she would, and would not if she could. When the South began the secession movement, they had declared that she was not sincere. He thought she was sincere; and warned the people to be ready for sincere action on her part. He told the Republican party that though they had succeeded at the ballot-box, there was yet another issue to be met, for their ballots were but the paper currency that was to be redeemed hereafter by a specie payment in solid bombshells and bullets; and they mobbed him for the declaration and the warning. The mob spirit prevailed throughout the North, until Abraham Lincoln had to avail himself of the underground railroad to escape a mob; and a mob had ruled him and his Administration to the present hour, and proposed to rule still.

Mr. P. said he knew these might be called discouraging words, but they were not discouraging to him. The truth was, they were deceived, and it was time that they knew it. The government intended compromise—nothing more. There were traitors in the Cabinet as well as in the army. There were traitors even in our midst, as well as in Baltimore and the border States, and when the hour came, that treason would make itself heard and felt. Events had led the government thus far, as signally as the pillar of fire by night and of cloud by day led the children of Israel out of the bondage of Egypt; and it was for the people still to command events. He remembered that Mr. Phillips once said it was the business of a statesman to know circumstances. He went beyond that, in his estimation of statesmanship, and thought it was the business of a statesman to *shape* circumstances and to control them. Slavery was the cause of this calamity, as everybody was convinced. Then what would an enlightened statesmanship, a pure Christianity and a sound policy dictate in regard to it? He should think, the removal of slavery, as the cause of the evil. Yet where was the statesman who dared approach the subject in that light? Now, there was a proposition for a new compromise committee. He had seen the names of Millard Fillmore and Franklin Pierce mentioned, and expected, as he read along, to see the name of Lot's wife, and two or three mummies from the catacombs of Egypt (laughter). What did such things as these indicate? Anything like earnestness of purpose? No. The government meant to sell out the people; and they had more to fear from their government than from Jefferson Davis and all his army. He did not know where the sensibilities of the people were; waiting—waiting—looking to the Cabinet and the government for aid and deliverance! I tell you, said Mr. P., the earthquake, the whirlwind and the fire have not the still small voice of the spirit of God in them; and when they shall have passed away and done their fearful work, if we also allow ourselves to be deceived, there will be none left in that day of disaster to lift up the standard of the spirit of truth and of God.

Mr. P. then proceeded to speak of the battles of Great Bethel and Bull Run, the former of which he called a blunder, and the latter a great deal worse. It was a downright murder, he said; and the blood of the slaughtered soldiers hung heavy on the skirts of Abraham Lincoln and all his Cabinet. The South, according to military men, had not made a single military blunder yet. He told the people, when they first commenced these military operations, that they meant nothing; they would have appointed better instruments if they had intended or expected to fight. What did Gen. Butler know about military operations? Great Bethel could answer that. What reason had they to expect anything better of Nathaniel P. Banks? When he saw men professing to be engaged in an earnest cause appointing such instruments, he knew they were heartless, if nothing more. He did not believe there was ever a time when the Abolitionists were so much needed as to-day; and he was far enough from believing that the martyr age of the Abolitionists was past. When compromise came to be the order of the day again, he wondered what Mr. Phillips's life would be worth! Let the Abolitionists then beware!

Until we make our cause such, said Mr. P., that we shall be glorious, even in defeat, we shall not be worthy of victory. We have enough at stake, so that we might be defeated in a hundred battles and yet be the admiration of the world. Instead of that, a victory that would eclipse Waterloo, and entirely drown out the proudest achievements of Bonaparte, would only redound to the infamy and disgrace of a people who made war to sustain a government the design and object of which is the propagation and perpetuation of slavery. I have no higher opinion of Abraham Lincoln, and his Cabinet, and the clerks in the various departments, than I have of the President and Cabinet and clerks of the Confederate States. They have sold us out, and they expect the Union and the continuance of the government to be their reward. It remains for you to say whether it shall be so. I want to see earnestness on the part of the people. I want to see conventions called to express the opinions of the people. The President will act when the people command, and command in the peremptory tones which the South has been accustomed to use whenever she has been obeyed by the North. The other day, a question came up which it was said the President had "under advisement." What did that mean? Why, that he was waiting to see what New York, and New England, the West and Northwest would say. But New York and New England see nothing but the glory of the war; and that very war is to be the destruction of liberty in this country. We have not a man to gather up the forces of humanity and concentrate them in one invincible thunderbolt against the infernal institution; and until we have, why, falling on that rock, we are already broken; ere long, it shall fall upon us, and grind us to powder (applause).

Mr. GARRISON said that perhaps the true position to be taken would lie between that indicated by the hopeful and jubilant speech of Mr. Foss, and that of Mr. Pillsbury, which was somewhat sombre and depressing. He (Mr. G.) certainly thought there was a very broad difference between the position of Abraham Lincoln, and that occupied by Jefferson Davis, between the issue presented, as it respects free institutions, on the one hand, and the rule of the Slave Power on the other, to the subversion of all freedom. He knew that the attempt was making by the government to preserve the old order of things; but that was impossible, for the reason that the South would take nothing less than what she demands, and she demands so much that the North, with all her pro-slavery tendencies, would be unable to get down low enough to effect a reconciliation.

But they were asking the government to abolish slavery. It was a very easy thing for them to say, "Mr. Lincoln, why don't you proclaim emancipation to the slaves in the South, and thus conclude the war?" But will the North sustain him in doing this? Mr. Pillsbury had said he believed that Abraham Lincoln would rather see slavery abolished than have it remain. Jefferson Davis would rather see slavery established and freedom abolished. That was the difference between the parties. Then, why did not Mr. Lincoln abolish slavery? Probably, because he was not yet convinced that he would be sustained by the popular feeling of the North, without which he could do nothing. He (Mr. G.) believed that the Cabinet would to-day make a proclamation of freedom to the slaves of the South, if they could only be assured that it would be sustained by the popular sentiment. The question was, were the people disposed to forget party names at this crisis; and did they see that, unless emancipation be declared, the nation is going down to irretrievable ruin? He had his fears in regard to it; still, he would have the proclamation made, because he believed it would be well-pleasing to God; because he knew it would be right; because he was satisfied that, under the war power, it would be abundantly warranted; and because he believed that such a measure was the only hope for the country. If the slaves were not emancipated, insurrection must follow civil war or accompany it; for when the slaves found that there was no hope for them through the government, they would rise in their despair and desperation, and we should have a servile as well as a civil war to curse and desolate our land.

The resolution introduced by Mr. Pillsbury was adopted, with only two dissenting votes.

Speech of Miss Mary Grew.

MISS MARY GREW, of Philadelphia, spoke as follows:

When Mr. Phillips told you that State street and Wall street demand now the abolition of slavery, for the salvation of trade, he might have added that Market street and Third street, in Philadelphia, join in that cry, pro-slavery, slave-hunting Philadelphia, whose name you have connected with memories of Judge Kane and Commissioner Ingraham—God has taken them to himself—Philadelphia now swells that loud cry from all our commercial cities, "Give us the abolition of slavery, because we cannot live without trade!"

If there are, on the face of the earth, any people who have a right to exult to-day, Mr. President, it is surely the American Abolitionists. Who, if they may not, has a right to sing "Glory to God in the highest"? For we stand in the midst of our fast-fulfilling predictions, and see God's retributive justice proving that "His mercy endureth forever." Thirty years ago, nearly, a few Abolitionists in this land stood up and declared to the nation that they were going to abolish the mighty institution of slavery. They were few, and, as the world counts weakness, they were weak; but they said to the nation, strong, and proud in its strength, "We will strike down to death this institution which you cherish and in which you trust." And the nation laughed them to scorn. Their opponents (and who were not their opponents?) confronted them with the strength of the Church, with the power of the government, with the wealth of the commercial classes, and proved most conclusively that all these were against them. They pointed to the literature of the land, to the intellectual strength of the land, and demonstrated, so that they thought there was no reply, that all this force was against the Abolitionists, who arrayed themselves in opposition to this mighty institution; and, thus confronting us, and thus pointing, on this side and on that, to the weapons of our adversaries, they said, as host after host marshalled themselves against us, "How do you expect to succeed, in the face of all this, and in spite of all this?" Undaunted, the Abolitionists calmly replied, "In the face of all this, and in spite of all this, and more than this, we expect to succeed, because '*the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!*'"

Now, where stand we, after nearly thirty years of labor and of battle? We said, in the outset, to this proud nation, "God gives you your choice between the peaceful abolition of slavery and the dissolution of your Union; between doing justice to the slave and dismemberment." And they laughed us to scorn. To-day, the Union is dismembered. To-day, that proud nation, which, a quarter of a century ago, said, "I sit a queen, and shall see no sorrow; who is the Lord, that I should obey him, or hearken unto his voice?" is broken in pieces. To-day, we need utter no word to prove our predictions true. They are fulfilling themselves before our eyes; and that proud Union, instead of boasts, has taken up the cry and wail of distress, and now is struggling for life. Slavery, which it cherished, and against which we fought, now points its guns at the heart of the nation, and which shall go down in the struggle, God only knows.

But wherefore do we rejoice? It was said here just now, that they who are fighting our battles, or the battles of the nation, are not fighting for the freedom of the slave, and do not care to abolish slavery. Very likely they do not. It is not, and never was, in this nation's heart to do this thing. They may not mean it; but God does, and he, not General Scott, is leading our armies. What may be, or may not be, the result of this war, none can foresee; for none, in times like these, can predict to-day the events of to-morrow. None need to; least of all, the Abolitionists. Through all the intermediate stages of this war, through all the defeats and victories—little heeding what may be its aspect to-day or next week—the Abolitionist sees the one great aim and end, the one great victory of the war. There is but one victory to be obtained, and all things else will be defeat. That victory is the abolition of slavery—the wiping out of the cause of the war. To that end we see all things tending; to that victory we see God leading the armies of the nation. To that He has been leading his own hosts through this long struggle of righteousness against oppression. Who have fought out this battle? They who, through evil report and good report, have kept well their pledges of fidelity to the slave; have sought ever that one end. They told the nation what God required of it, and the alternative which he gave it. Not on them rests, to-day, the blood of those who fall in battle; for the nation chose not to take the alternative of peaceful abolition, and there was no help for the reverse. Therefore, this day, the anniversary of British emancipation—rather mournful to us, because we remember that there are no sadder words than "might have been"—is yet a day of great joy to us. We rejoice, because the deliverance of the slave is at hand. And we are not to be discouraged by any of those considerations which are so frequently urged upon us, that those who are carrying out God's will, unknowingly, do not sympathize with us; for God uses all instruments to do his work. But why should we be either surprised or discouraged, when we see exactly the state of things which for years we have been predicting? Here we stand to-day exactly where, some twenty-five years ago, our earliest Abolitionists said the nation would stand if it continued her warfare against God; and now the timid Abolitionist is half afraid to trust events to work themselves out; is half afraid that, after all, God will not keep his promises to man. We all know that it is through terrible storm and conflict—it may be through oceans of blood—that we as well as our nation are to pass, in order to attain this victory. But what then? Is anything worse than continued slavery? Are all the horrors of war which you can conceive, worse than the horrors of that continued war in which all the victories are on one side and all the defeats and suffering on the other? That is the war which has been going on for the last thirty years, and which we have been trying to bring to a peaceful end: and though we did not succeed in that, are we not to thank God and take courage that it is about to be brought to an end in another way?

We rejoice, then, to-day, as the slave's representatives, standing here and seeing in the distance the day of his deliverance drawing nigh. We rejoice that God has proved Himself again, as He ever proves Himself, true to his own words of promise or of threatening. We rejoice for the sake of all those who have trusted in Him, that they have found Him true, and that they henceforward can trust, from their own long experience, as well as from the faith with which they began the war, that the weapons of His warfare are to be successful. And what then, my friends? Are we to take off our armor, fold our hands, and sit down, feeling that the victory is already won? Not quite yet, because four millions of slaves still wear their chains; and we must not yet cease our work. The party which has brought the nation up to the point on which it stands to-day, will surely not cease from their efforts, and allow the nation to slip backward from the height which it has attained; for you know that it is only by the continued efforts of the Abolitionists that any party in the nation has made any advance towards freedom, and it is only by their supporting strength that any party, in or out of the government, now stands upright, demanding the triumph of freedom. Not now, just on the verge of victory, shall we let go our weapons. Not now, when all might be lost by their unfaithfulness, shall they fail, who for long years have endured persecution, the sneers of the world, the threatenings, and the fulfilled threatenings, of many a mob, who have stood against all the opposition of this nation—not now, when the nation is at last ready to join in our cry, shall we step down from our platform, or let go our grasp on the sword of the Spirit, by which, with God's help, we have won our victories. It shall never be said that the American Anti-Slavery Society has failed in its duty in the last hour—that its standard-bearer has fainted. No, my friends, we must keep that standard floating yet a little while longer, let it cost what it may; a little while longer, till it shall wave in the breeze that bears to us the slave's jubilee song. Then, *then* we may furl it as we cry—"Not unto us, O Lord, but unto Thee, now be the glory!" while the multitude take up the shout with which we commenced our warfare, and cry—"Hallelujah! for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth!" (Loud and prolonged applause.)

EDWARD EVERETT ON THE SECESSION NEWSPAPERS IN THE NORTH.

From The New York Ledger.

It is an old proverb that the laws are silent amidst arms. The laws are, for the most part, made for a state of peace, excepting those which expressly refer to war, and the manner of conducting it. When a state of war arises, the community necessarily undergoes a great, and sometimes a rapid change; the quiet pursuits of society are, to some extent, checked, and in the immediate vicinity of the war, suspended, and with them the laws, which regulate those pursuits, must for the time give way to the stern necessities of the new state of things. It should, however, be, and it is, the great effort of an enlightened government, in civilized countries, to keep this disturbance of the peaceful order of things within the narrowest limits; and allow the supremacy of the law to be interfered with by military authority as little as possible. It is in particular a cardinal maxim of free governments, that the military commander should be subordinate to the civil magistrate. There are undoubtedly cases, when war exists, in which the public safety absolutely requires that the operation of the laws and the authority of the civil magistrate should yield to the paramount considerations which require summary measures. The patriotic magistrate, of whatever rank, must in such cases exert that moral courage—quite equal to the courage required for the risks of the field—which is needed for the discharge of the unpopular duty of suspending the laws. He must not shrink before the reproaches which his conduct is sure to bring upon him from the timid, the perverse, and the disaffected, cloaking their disloyalty under an assumed zeal for constitutional principles. He must take the risk even of subsequent disavowal, for poor humanity is very prone to be wise after the event and brave after the danger. But he will confine his interference with the regular march of law to the narrowest limits and fewest occasions, and be the first to welcome the restoration of its authority.

These are the general maxims which apply to the conflict of civil and military authority, and the practical difficulty will naturally be, not in their general soundness, but in their application to particular cases. This difficulty will of course be much greater in the commencement of a state of war, than after it has lasted some time, and the community has been obliged to conform itself to the exigencies of the contest. At the present time, these citizens in some of the border States, who sympathize with the Confederates, think it hard that they cannot be at peace and at war, in the Union and out of it, at the same time. They claim the protection of the Constitution as in a time of profound peace and universal obedience to the laws, while they render secret aid, and, when circumstances admit, open aid to those arrayed in arms against them. They assault the forces moving to the defence of the Capital; they convey supplies and arms to the enemy; they recruit his ranks openly and by stealth, and to effect these objects they sometimes avail themselves of official position and authority derived from the government which they assail; and when that government, in self-defence, interferes to arrest these treasonable movements and machinations, they clamor that the liberties of the citizen are invaded.

There are presses, for the most part in the border States, though some of them are found in cities more remote from the scene of action, which are daily pleading the cause of the enemy, misrepresenting and vilifying the government of the United States, exaggerating every article of unfavorable intelligence, and exerting themselves to the utmost to dishearten the friends and defenders of the Constitution and the Union. But such is the all but superstitious devotion of the people to the liberty of the Press, that these pernicious journals have, with the exception of a single instance in St. Louis, never been interfered with. It seems to have been thought better by those in authority to tolerate the mischief of these unpatriotic presses, than to elevate them to greater importance by prosecution, or to encroach in the slightest degree upon that freedom of public discussion which in ordinary times is justly regarded as one of the greatest safeguards of liberty. *But it is preposterous to sacrifice the end to the means.* We should, in this respect, learn wisdom from the enemies of the Union. While we regard as unbecoming our Christian civilization that resort to Lynch law, by which every expression of opinion adverse to the popular sentiment is suppressed in the seceding States, we ought to remember that in tolerating a traitorous Press among ourselves, we practice a liberality which awakens no gratitude at home, and is never reciprocated by the opposing party. It is in fact an absurdity in terms, under the venerable name of the liberty of the Press, to permit the systematic and licentious abuse of a government which is tasked to the utmost in defending the country from general disintegration and political chaos. The Governor of Malta was once censured in Parliament for some alleged severity toward the editor of a journal in that island, and the liberty of the Press was declared to be in danger. The Duke of Wellington said he was as friendly as anybody to the liberty of the Press in London, but a free Press in the island of Malta was as much out of place as it would be on the quarter-deck of a man-of-war. We suppose the most enthusiastic champion of the liberty of the Press would hardly think it right to publish a journal within the walls of Fort McHenry, in which the officers of that garrison should be daily advised to desert and the men be constantly exhorted to mutiny; and whose columns should be filled with persistent abuse of the government and all engaged in its defence. Why should journals of that description be allowed to diffuse their poison beneath its walls amidst the excitable population of a large city?

So, too, with reference to the freedom of speech in debate, one of the vital conditions of republican liberty. The late session of Congress has witnessed a magnanimity on the part of the majority in both Houses of a truly romantic cast. The acts and the motives of the government, in the suppression of the insurrection (admitted by one of its most distinguished chiefs to proceed mainly from the disappointment of leading aspirants to office), have been assailed from day to day with a virulence and a persistence which would be harmless in times of peace, but which in time of war can have no other effect upon the popular mind, than to perplex and dishearten those who are staking life and fortune in the cause of the country. This generosity excites no gratitude on the part of those towards whom it is practiced; and so far from being reciprocated, the member of the Confederate Congress at Montgomery or Richmond who should assail the conduct or policy of that body, as the government of the United States has been assailed by the sympathizers with secession at Washington, would not reach his hotel in safety. He would swing from the next lamp-post.

Not merely is all freedom of speech and of the Press prohibited in the seceding States, but the most quiet and the humblest rights of citizenship are interdicted. When the Ordinance of secession was about to be submitted to the vote of the people of Virginia, a distinguished Senator of that State in Congress, and who in that capacity was under oath to support the Constitution of the United States, published a letter, signed with his name, in which he declared that such citizens of Virginia as did not approve the Ordinance must leave the State; a summary sentence of banishment and confiscation against about a third-part of the people of that ancient Commonwealth; a sentence which the seceding majority are now attempting to enforce at the point of the bayonet, to illustrate the principle that "the right of government rests upon the consent of the governed."

The necessity which, in time of war, partially suspends the operation of the laws, transfers the governing power to the military authority, not absolutely and without conditions; far from it; but under the limitations of the Constitution, and of the laws enacted to meet such a state of things. The power which existed in the Roman Republic of creating a Dictator, in seasons of imminent danger, who was clothed with absolute authority for a limited period—a power which was substantially, though not avowedly, assumed by Congress in the revolutionary war—is unknown to the Constitution; and it is to be devoutly hoped will never be called into exercise by perils too formidable to be otherwise averted.

For all the ordinary purposes of war, the President of the United States is clothed with the requisite power as "Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States, and of the militia of the United States, when called into active service." The laws of the land provide the means for exercising the great powers which he possesses in this character. The present is not the first occasion on which they have been called into action. The proclamation of the President calling for seventy-five thousand volunteers, although not issued till the war had actually commenced by the reduction of Fort Sumter, by the general armament of the South, with ordnance and munitions treasonably prepared beforehand by the sworn officers of the United States, and by an official threat of a movement on Washington, has been denounced by President Davis as an unprovoked measure, whose magnitude transcends all constitutional limits, and can aim only at "the subjugation" of the South. At a time when the population of the United States did not exceed four and a half millions, Gen. Washington called out fifteen thousand troops to suppress an insurrection in the western Counties of Pennsylvania. Our population is now thirty millions, and the insurrection has assumed the dimensions of a civil war. *The only reasonable objection to the military preparations of the United States is, that they did not at once proceed on that gigantic scale, which wisdom and humanity alike dictate, as the only means of bringing the inauspicious conflict to a speedy close.* To let it drag on by inadequate means is to prolong the sufferings which it inflicts on both parts of the Union; to protract the perilous duress imposed upon the friends of the Union at the South, who look with aching eyes for the hour of deliverance; and to augment all the difficulties which are to be overcome before peace is restored to the country.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 24, 1861.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NO. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NO. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

THE IMPENDING ALTERNATIVE.

THE critical moment of this civil war is obviously at hand. We do not mean an immediate crisis of battle, but an imperative crisis of policy—of a policy which is to decide the issue of the war now on foot. Gen. Butler has had this truth forced upon his mind as a practical necessity which cannot be evaded. His letter, which will be fresh in the minds of all our readers, is a most significant and pregnant sign of the times. A man as far as possible from an Abolitionist, who has acted with the South during the whole of his political life, who has no moral objection to slavery or to any arrangements with it which may be mutually advantageous, is forced by the necessities of his position to see that the Slave Question cannot be extinguished by wilful shutting of the eyes to it or silenced by wilful stopping of the ears, but that it must be decided just as fast and as far as it comes up for decision. If the principle of his letter be accepted as the key of the solution of the problem, and the plan of the military suppression of the insurrection be carried out, it would involve a virtual abolition of slavery. It is the policy we indicated several weeks ago as the only rational one. And the War Department would seem, judging from its reply to Gen. Butler's letter, to have yielded to the demands of the Irrepressible Negro to the extent therein expressed.

If negroes flying to our forts and camps are to be received and employed, with the understanding that none of them are to be returned into slavery—the loyal masters only to be entitled to compensation after the war—and if the armies of the Nation are to march over the whole Southern country in the process of suppressing the rebellion, these conditions must apply to such numbers of slaves as to amount to an abolition of slavery. The subsequent arrangements incidental to the settlement of the details of so great a social change, however embarrassing, cannot affect the practical result. This embarrassment is one of the penalties annexed to the crime we have so long been accessary to, and must be encountered and disentangled as best we may. But the fixed determination of the people of the North that none of those unfortunates who have claimed the hospitality of our flag shall ever be delivered over to their tormentors again, must be made so plain that every public man will understand that his political life depends on his carrying it out. To this point we think public opinion has clearly advanced and has compelled the authorities, which never lead but ever follow it, to take up the position thus distinctly indicated. And it is worth the cost of the war, thus far, to know that the judicial blindness with which all American statesmen seem to be struck the moment a black man comes into the field of vision, has been partially dispelled and a restoration to entire singleness of eye in such a presence made reasonably probable.

But the subordinate, or rather the antecedent, question arises, whether such a conquest of the Southern country as the scheme of the Administration must include, be possible, without the help of the black nation encamped all over the plains of the South? They are now understood to be full of hope of deliverance to come from us. If given reason to believe that we have this purpose, their very presence and the irrepressible symptoms of their discontentment and excitement of expectation would create a diversion in our favor in the rear and in the midst of the enemy, without their lifting a finger themselves, which would be equivalent to victory. The numbers that must be drawn away from the army of attack on us to act as an army of observation on them, would be a most serious weakening of their effective force, while the uneasiness and uncertainty inseparable from such a state of things must have a powerful moral effect by way of discouragement. How much more irresistible would be the appeal to this element should the government openly proclaim the Emancipation of the Slaves as a Military Necessity, arising under the Constitution, and throw a strong disciplined black force—which could soon be had—into the heart of the cotton country? That slavery has certain guarantees in the Constitution few deny. Still fewer, we should think, will affirm that these guarantees are to be observed at the expense of the Constitution itself. The part is less than the whole; the specific thing to be maintained by government, than the government itself. When the alternative is presented to the nation of the abolition of slavery or the abolition of itself, who can doubt how it will decide?

But, in the meanwhile, time is rapidly passing away and giving new shapes to passions and to events. It may be a question of a brief time only what action the government can take in this matter of its own free choice. We believe that the Divine Justice has given over this nation into the hands of this bound and despised race, to be delivered by its deliverance, or defeated in its defeat. The government must very soon elect whether it will have these four million of black men for allies or for enemies. If for allies, its success is certain. If for enemies, its disgrace and defeat are written in the book of Destiny. If the action of the government make it plain to the slaves that they have nothing to hope from them, that this war is freighted with no change for the better in their condition and is only waged to make their bondage the more sure and the more bitter, they will no longer have any sympathy for our successes, but the contrary. No hope should be derived from the ignorance of the slaves or their want of communication with each other. They are ready enough to learn what concerns their hopes of deliverance, and their means of intelligence among themselves all that their needs require. Abandoning all hope from us, they would have nothing to look for except from their masters, and it would take but a little encouragement, false or real, to make them effective auxiliaries in the field. We know that black soldiers have been employed against us, and there is no reason why fifty thousand should not be opposed to us, as soon as they are convinced that we are as much their own enemies as their masters'. The negro must be thrown into the one scale or the other of this great battle, and his weight in either will make

"The other quick up fly and kick the beam."

The issues of this conflict, like those of every other armed collision of ideas, must reach much further than it was given to them that opened it on either side to discern. We can see but two events possible to it. The idea that the state of things before the war can be restored again we regard as a delusion and a snare. The sweetness of that old pro-slavery alliance is too mortally infected with the jealousy aroused on both sides for that. If, by the proclamation of emancipation and the summoning to our help of the black race, we march triumphantly over the South, abolishing slavery as we go, protecting the weak from violence and preserving property from devastation, we shall achieve the greatest conquest on record. For it will be a conquest for the benefit of the conquered, as well as for our own. The confiscation of rebel estates and the absolutism of military rule will give us the opportunity of reconstructing Southern society on the basis of freedom. It is only by some such external agency that the South can be delivered from itself and brought up from barbarism to civilization. If we let this opportunity slip, its deliverance must be deferred for the interposition of foreign conquest or of domestic insurrection. A harsh and inadequate remedy for ills which we might have beneficently healed. Should our weakness or crime refuse to accept the duty which is the condition of victory and leave the means of winning it in the hands of the adversary, then the other alternative is inevitable. After a conflict in which we shall on the whole, have the worst, we shall purchase peace by consenting to the dismemberment of the nation. For years, slavery in the border States, and their sympathy of interest with our enemies, will be an intestine thorn in our side. And we shall still have a party of slavery at the North, domestic foes, polluting by their touch, like Harpies, those of the fruits of our prosperity which they cannot destroy. It will be a continual border and internal war, instead of the universal and uninterrupted peace which we might have conquered. Truly the responsibility of the government, and still more of the people, is great, indeed!

MRS. STOWE'S LETTER TO LORD SHAFTESBURY.

THERE is great need, at this crisis, that the true lovers of liberty in England and America should understand each other, as well as understand the character and scope of the contest now in progress here. Such knowledge must be gained, not only by observation of [illegible] but by a frank expression, by each to the other, of the ideas, interpretations, wishes and purposes of each. Of course, great differences of idea exist, not only between the two countries, and between the different classes in each country, but between the various individuals of each class. By a frank and good-tempered comparison of these differences, we shall be best helped to correct the mistakes of each side. We rejoice, therefore, that Mrs. Stowe has spoken upon the matters at issue between the two countries; we hope that individuals, and bodies of men and women, in England, will express their feeling and judgment upon the same momentous subject, giving us whatever clearness of view their freedom from prejudice and direct personal interest, and from the heat of partisanship, may afford; and giving also that stimulus to our zeal and activity which the criticism of assured friends is suited to give, and which the occasion loudly calls for. Not to fail in our own duty upon this matter, we also will declare our opinion, directing particular attention to one of the points raised by Mrs. Stowe.

In our judgment, Mrs. Stowe greatly overstates the extent to which the present war is recognized, by the North, as an anti-slavery war, and still more [illegible] in representing it as the *purpose* of the North that the war shall overthrow slavery. Here is her expression of this belief:

"We consider that this war is a great Anti-Slavery War, not in form, but in fact; not in proclamation, but in the intense conviction and purpose of each of the contending parties."

There is something like this in one of the paragraphs which Mrs. Stowe quotes as corroborating it, from Wendell Phillips's speech at Framingham on the 4th of July, namely:

"I feel satisfied that the end of the slave system has come. I have no doubt that we *begin to touch* the end. My reason is this. The age of discussion is over. We have had fifty years, more or less, of what is called agitation, discussion, and party divisions. Now a new act has opened. It is the hour of fight—the age of bullets. That never lasts very long. It does not take as much time for a nation to fight itself clear as it does to talk itself clear, only it is necessary that the talk should precede such a fight. It is only necessary that the mind, the substratum of purpose, should be deliberately formed. I think it has been. I do not mean to say that the whole North is anti-slavery, much less for abolition; but I do mean to say this, that the South has fully come to the conviction that unless she can use the Union to support slavery, the system is gone; and I think the North has come to this conviction, that the Union [illegible] shall be used to sustain slavery. I think, so far, the public mind is made up. I do not mean that the popular mind objects specifically to certain constitutional provisions, that men have made up their minds not to return fugitive slaves; but I think there is a prevailing and *unconscious, perhaps,* but assured sentiment and purpose at the North, that the Union either *does* or *shall* mean liberty *in the end.*"

We have *italicised* some expressions by which Mr. Phillips found it necessary to qualify and limit his statement respecting a "purpose" in the North to overthrow slavery. Our individual opinion is that the word *purpose* is too strong, even taken in connection with these qualifying phrases. We do not see any evidence of the existence of such a purpose, though our assured belief is that there is a constant progress in that direction. But when this word is used with adjuncts which intensify instead of limiting it, as in Mrs. Stowe's sentence above quoted, it seems to us to misstate the very important matter in question; attributing to the whole North an amount of right perception and right intention in this business, to which even the Republicans, even the Administration party, have not attained.

Since, in this very article, Mrs. Stowe admits a pledge, on the part of the present Administration, "to respect all the constitutional rights of the slaveowners," we do not see how she can say, immediately after, that the issue "was for vital principles of free society to endure to all generations."

Every intelligent person saw that when Mr. Lincoln commenced the administration of this government, he undertook a work of immense difficulty; and a work, the difficulties of which would be enhanced in proportion to the amount of reform which he should attempt to introduce into it. Under the circumstances, it was hard enough, no doubt, to turn the "corrupted currents" of Washington politics into conformity with the Chicago platform; to reduce to practice even the moderate reform which *it* contemplated. Nothing more than this was to be expected of one so hampered by his surroundings as the new President. He could not be expected to move in the slightest degree beyond this point, unless energetic and extensive demonstrations were made by the Republicans, who had elected him, showing *their* wish that such advance should be made, and their determination to support and to accomplish it.

Now, the fact is, that no such demonstrations have been made by the Republicans, or by any considerable portion of them. Mr. Lincoln has been shown no reason to suppose that the party desired one step further in advance against slavery than resistance to its *extension.* While this quiescence on *their* part continued, nothing more was to be expected on *his* part. While they made not the slightest movement towards an amendment of the Constitution in the direction of liberty, while they even made continued parade of their hearty acquiescence in its pro-slavery clauses, what could be expected of their President but that he should echo that acquiescence, and lay his course in that direction? The antecedents of Abraham Lincoln had given no reason to expect from him anything nearer anti-slavery than this.

These things being so, how does it happen that the Abolitionists, who have heretofore sharply criticised the shortcomings of the Republican party, and rebuked that party as unfaithful to liberty, and to the slave, should now be represented as in perfect union, of spirit and purpose, and action, not only with them, but with the North? How comes Mrs. Stowe to be authorized to say of them—

"For the first time since the anti-slavery struggle began, this body of men at last stand shoulder to shoulder with their whole country in a popular movement."

The fact is, that no one is authorized to say this. It is an inaccurate statement. Yet there are certain facts looking in that direction, which have produced this impression in the minds of Mrs. Stowe and others.

The Abolitionists have always urged upon the Republicans that the continued allowance of slavery where it now exists is as absolutely incompatible with Northern freedom—and as destructive of our theory of equal rights, and a government "*of* the people, *by* the people, and *for* the people"—as that extension of slavery which *they* oppose. They have always urged upon the Republicans that slavery should not be "scotched" merely, but killed; not imprisoned merely, but beheaded; and have assured these half-converts that any portion of this root of bitterness remaining in the Constitution, and in the actual life of the nation, would so constantly tend towards the supremacy of slavery and the decline of freedom, that there was no safety for them, or for the nation, but in its utter extinction.

When, in the progress of events, more and more of the slaveholders joined in the declaration that they would not submit to the administration of a Republican President, however regularly elected—when that State which had always shown the intensest fanaticism in the advocacy of slavery actually broke the bonds of Union—and when other States joined in her rebellion, and all aggravated their disloyalty by outrageous acts of aggression against the General government, and utter disregard of the rights of all Northern men—it seemed as if the Republicans could no longer doubt the truth of what the Abolitionists had told them, could no longer fail to see that slavery was the mother of this dragon brood, and that there was no peace or prosperity for them short of its extermination. It seemed as if, however tolerant the Administration party had been of the continuance of slavery *before* the rebellion, this war must show them that the conflict was indeed irrepressible, and that slavery or freedom must now be overthrown.

Seeing the urgency, and what seemed the indispensableness, of a change in the policy of the Republican party—seeing that the war which was forced upon them by the outrageous aggressions of the Slave Power supplied at once the occasion, the means, and the justification of a direct and vigorous movement against slavery itself—the Abolitionists charitably judged that the Administration and its supporters would proceed to take this right and needful ground; having at heart the welfare of THE CAUSE, and not their own honor or public estimation, they magnanimously offered their open approval and their zealous cooperation in any movement which should actually be made *by others* against slavery; and, seeing that, however deficient the Republicans had been in the discharge of their duties towards the slave, they were thoroughly and wholly right in their opposition to the course of rebellion commenced by the Slave Power, the Abolitionists generously pushed their expressions of approval and offers of cooperation to the very verge of truth and sound principle; thinking, and having reason to think, from the necessities and probabilities of the case, that the administration *would* advance nearer and nearer to a positively right position; *would* use the occasion thus providentially given, and the power of constitutional and legitimate action against slavery which the enemy's own movement had offered to their hand; *would* proceed, first to the overthrow of slavery by the war power in the rebellious States, and next to such measures for its removal from the loyal slave States as to insure complete exemption from it in any ultimate reconstruction of the Union, or in any Northern Republic which should form a separate nation.

The Abolitionists, we say, went to the verge of probability in hoping and trusting that the Administration and its supporters would take this just and needful ground, and in showing themselves *for* the government, as far as the government should be against slavery. No doubt, sometimes, the wish was father to the thought, and the anti-slavery speaker or writer fell into the inaccuracy of hailing that position as already right, which was seeming more and more likely soon to become so. These hopeful ones, as we have said, went to the very verge of what truth, and faithfulness to the slave, permitted. Perhaps they passed that boundary. But, even if so, it was a generous error.

In fact, the result, as thus far developed, has not warranted this liberality of construction and expectation which the Abolitionists have used. The Republicans have not shown themselves to be the men demanded by the hour. Their greatest measure of forwardness in answering the demands of the time has been an occasional admission, on the part of a few of their organs, that slavery is the cause of all this evil, and that nothing short of its utter extirpation will suffice; but even this has been made alternately with declarations of attachment to the whole of the present Constitution, and of readiness to maintain what they absurdly call the "rights" of slaveholders in the loyal States. The party, like their President, while talking of the rebels as enemies, and taking certain measures of defence against their expected attacks, have carefully avoided touching the weak spot in their enemies' camp; have seemed to attempt as little as possible against them; have been as nearly passive as the danger to their Capital would allow; if, indeed, their supineness has not been sufficient to occasion the loss of that Capital; a matter yet uncertain.

Under these circumstances, we cannot agree with Mrs. Stowe in calling the Northern movement a "sublime" one. Thus far—we feel unspeakable shame for our countrymen in saying it—instead of being "for vital principles of free society to endure to all generations," instead of being even a movement for the freedom of those whom Northern men themselves have been helping to hold in bonds, this great Northern movement has been only a simultaneous movement to avoid an impending danger. Thus far, it has had neither sublimity, dignity, nor inherent nobleness. It has been only the sudden movement of an immense body for self-preservation.

We fear that Lord Shaftesbury's judgment of us is correct, and that anti-slavery feeling on the part of English people must be continued to be expressed by faithful admonition and rebuke to our nation, instead of compliments and congratulations; by help, for the present, to the American Anti-Slavery Society, instead of the American Government.

MOBOCRATIC PATRIOTISM.

THE offices of the Concord, N. H., *Democratic Standard*, the Bangor, Me., *Democrat*, the Easton, Pa., *Sentinel*, and the West Chester, Pa., *Jeffersonian*, have been, in mobocratic parlance, "cleaned out," on account of the secession proclivities of those papers; and at Haverhill, Massachusetts, on Monday night, Ambrose L. Kimball, editor of the Essex County *Democrat*, a weekly secession sheet, was forcibly taken from his house by an excited mob, and, refusing information, was covered with a coat of tar and feathers, and ridden on a rail through the town. Subsequently, under threats of violence, Mr. K. promised to keep his pen dry, in aid of rebellion, and was liberated. The town authorities and many good citizens unsuccessfully attempted to quell the mob. Mr. Kimball, after suffering the abuse and indignity of the mob for a long time, made the following affirmation on his knees: "I am sorry that I have published what I have, and I promise that I will never again write or publish articles against the North and in favor of secession, so help me God." After this he was conducted to his home.

We need not say how much we disapprove of mobs, even when directed towards the removal of acknowledged evils. If the public safety requires the suppression of those Northern newspapers which advocate the cause of the rebels and seek to poison the public mind by falsehood and base appeals to passion, the work should be done, not by mobs, but by the military authorities. Edward Everett, in an article which appears in another column, states very clearly the proper ground of proceeding in such cases. His observations are significant in view of the recent presentation, by the U. S. Grand Jury, of *The Journal of Commerce, Day Book, Freeman's Journal,* and *Daily News* of this city.

There is something of poetic justice, it must be confessed, in these outbreaks of public opinion against the very journals which, for years, have done all in their power to stir up mobs against the Abolitionists and extinguish all freedom of speech on the subject of slavery. They are now reaping the fruits of their own blind folly and wickedness. It is refreshing to see the journals which have apologized for the reign of violence and cruelty at the South, and exulted when peaceful citizens were tarred and feathered for daring to hold and express opinions adverse to slavery, now clamoring lustily about the freedom of speech and the press, and complaining because they are not patiently tolerated in the utterance of their sympathies with the Southern rebels!

DR. CHEEVER AT HOME.

THE Rev. Dr. Cheever, with his wife, arrived at this port, in the steamer Persia, on Wednesday evening, the 13th inst. The Doctor's friends will be glad to learn that his health, which, at the time he left the country (July, 1860), had been a good deal impaired by severe labor, is now fully restored. He is now in Massachusetts, visiting among his kindred, but is expected to return to this city early in September, when those who appreciate his valuable services in behalf of the anti-slavery cause at home and abroad, and especially his fidelity to that cause through sore "perils among false brethren," will doubtless give him a fitting reception. It is understood that he will resume his work as a preacher in the Church of the Puritans about the middle of September, when he may be expected to discuss the slavery question in its relations to the war with a power and energy worthy of the present momentous crisis. He will, no doubt, inculcate and enforce, with an eloquence all his own, the duty of emancipating the slaves, as a measure just in itself and required by God at the hands of the people, and indispensable to the success of the North in the present struggle. The public mind is, we think, in an admirable state of preparation to receive this doctrine, and we shall be disappointed if the people do not flock in crowds to the Church of the Puritans to hear it and echo it.

Dr. Cheever's immediate object in visiting Great Britain was to obtain pecuniary aid for the support of the Church of the Puritans, beleaguered not only by the open apologists of slavery, but by half-hearted, hollow pretenders to anti-slavery, who were seeking to drive him from his pulpit. In this object, we understand, he has been even more successful than many of his friends ventured to hope—so successful, indeed, that his enemies must make up their minds to endure, as best they may, his occupancy of the pulpit on Union Square.

We have the best reasons for believing that Dr. Cheever's labors, private as well as public, in Great Britain, have been of signal advantage to the anti-slavery cause. Many of the people of that country have been taught by him to discriminate between genuine Abolitionism and its counterfeit, and made to understand the real position of the American Church and Ministry, as the chief bulwarks of slavery. As a man of unimpeached orthodoxy, he was able to gain the attention and win the confidence of some who rejected the truth when it came from lips and pens which they deemed heretical. The false cry of infidelity, raised against American Abolitionists in Great Britain by unscrupulous enemies of their cause, has lost much of its power for mischief in the light of Dr. Cheever's explanations and testimonies.

Dr. Cheever was received with great honor by the best friends of the cause on the other side of the Atlantic. If he was treated with coldness in some quarters, it was because *The Independent* and other American religious papers, hailing him for his abolitionism, sought to mislead the people of Great Britain in respect to his character and aims, and to close their purses against his appeals. In London, just before his departure for home, a public meeting was held to present him with an address and testimonial, in token of the sympathy in which he is held by British Christians. A brief report of the proceedings will be found on the fourth page. Since that report was in type, we have seen another, more complete, in the London *Morning Advertiser* of July 25. The following is the address presented on the occasion to Dr. Cheever by Lord Shaftesbury:

"*To the Rev. G. B. Cheever, D.D., Pastor of the Church of the Puritans, New York.*

"REV. AND DEAR SIR: A number of English gentlemen desire to show their sympathy with the friends of freedom in America, by testifying to yourself their high sense of the services you have rendered to the cause of humanity. For more than a quarter of a century you have with admirable consistency, both by speech and writing, maintained the inalienable right of every human being to his personal liberty; and in the face of an opposition which few would have had the firmness to withstand, you have boldly proclaimed it to be a crime to reduce any man to the condition of a chattel.

"Your published works, *God against Slavery* and the *Guilt of Slavery*, are eminently distinguished by learning and zeal, directed by the purest Christian morality, and will, we doubt not, endure to future generations in this country, and in your own, as an irrefragable defence of freedom. We desire that in leaving our shores you should bear with you some testimony of our admiration for the high qualities both of head and heart which you have displayed, no less in advocating the rights of the oppressed than in enduring with Christian forbearance and meekness the unrelenting hostility which your efforts on behalf of the enslaved have excited. We therefore beg your acceptance of this piece of plate, on which you will find engraven some names not unknown to the friends of the oppressed, with this copy of the works of Lord Erskine, the great constitutional lawyer and advocate of personal liberty; and this sum of money, which we know will be expended to promote the cause of human freedom. We take leave of you with fervent wishes for your health and success, and on behalf of the subscribers we append our names.

"SHAFTESBURY, Chairman.
"S. MORLEY, Treasurer.
"M. A. GARVEY, Hon. Sec."

The piece of plate presented was a silver salver, weighing 84 ounces—very handsome, as a personal inspection enables us to testify. It bears the following inscription:

"Presented to the Rev. G. B. Cheever, D.D., Pastor of the Church of the Puritans, New York, in token of the honor in which he is held by British Christians, and of their sympathy with him in the noble and consistent course he has pursued in exhibiting slaveholding as a sin against God, and a violation of the first rights of humanity.

Right Honorable the Earl of Shaftesbury, Chairman.

Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird,
Edward Baines, Esq., M.P.
Edward Ball, Esq., M.P.
Rev. Thomas Binney.
Rev. William Brock.
Charles Buxton, Esq., M.P.
T. M. Coombs, Esq.
Sir Charles Decimus Crosley.
Rev. Rob. Ferguson, LL.D.
Robert Hanbury, Esq., M.P.
Rev. Thomas James.
James Kershaw, Esq., M.P.
Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.
Robert Lush, Esq., Q.C.
Charles Edward Mudie, Esq.
Rev. James Sherman.
Rev. John Stoughton.
Edward Swaine, Esq.
Rev. James H. Wilson.
Joshua Wilson, Esq.

Samuel Morley, Esq., Treasurer.
M. A. Garvey, Esq., Honorable Secretary."

The speech delivered by Dr. Cheever on receiving the above-mentioned testimonials was an eloquent and forcible plea for emancipation as the indispensable means of success in the war between the North and the South, and an equally eloquent remonstrance against any acknowledgment of the Southern Confederacy by Great Britain.

TALKING SENSE.

THE Washington telegraphic correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press*—presumed to be Mr. Forney, its editor—holds the following sensible language:

"THE FUTURE OF SLAVERY.—Recent acts of Congress, the correspondence between General Butler and the War Department, and the 'order' of the Provost Marshal of this city forbidding colored people to go North without freedom papers, have renewed the inquiry as to the probable future of slavery. I must confess to a remarkable change of sentiment on this subject. Our most conservative men, who have hitherto believed that our difficulties would all be settled without affecting the institution of slavery, are now freely expressing their solemn conviction that slavery will be swept from the country, not as one of the primary objects, but as one of the inevitable consequences of the war. Already around Fortress Monroe the slaves are all freed by their owners seceding from their own estates, and leaving their slaves to take care of themselves. As the Union army advances the Slave Power will dissolve before it as snow before a meridian sun.

"It is thought that Congress was right in declaring that 'it is no part of the duty of our army officers to capture fugitive slaves,' and that, therefore, it was wrong of the Provost Marshal of this city to issue his railroad order, forbidding colored people to go North by rail without freedom papers or passes.

"Gen. McDowell's orders to the army upon its advance to Manassas had the same savor of slave-catching and slaveholding, for the benefit of slave-owners. The Secretary of War's instructions to Gen. Butler have a better justice and more sensible tenor. He says 'keep them; upon an account of work, and board and keep, per contra, and the government will settle with their claimants *as hereafter may seem right.*' That is the true policy. Jeff. Davis has just as good a claim upon us, for the arrest and detention of fugitive white subjects of his dominion as of the blacks. If it happens that neither of those is willing to owe allegiance to '*Secesh*,' it is not easy to conceive why one and not the other should be blockaded by our army or our police. We must abandon this daintiness on the negro question. It is simply nonsense. The sentiment of the North rejects it. The Secessionists among the masters are not entitled to the service assumed, and the Unionists will not be strengthened or inspired by it.

"Let the Fugitive Slave law secede with its author (Mason), and let us have no more fooling with 'vested rights' in man flesh. Let the Marshal attend to the spies in Washington, and quit searching Sambo's pockets for his right to his heels.

"The London *Spectator*, commenting upon the Congressional resolve alluded to, says: 'The hand moves slowly upon the dial, *but it moves.*' The common sense and the conscience of the world are waiting to hear us *strike the time.*

"Whatever we shall do hereafter, one thing seems clear—that while we neither hang the enemy's pirates nor imprison their spies, we might excuse ourselves from the business of catching their negroes."

THE WESTERN ANNIVERSARY.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THOSE who decided to postpone the anniversary of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, *to an indefinite period,* saw, doubtless, what to them were good and sufficient reasons. I know well their integrity and fidelity; but for myself, however, there is no language in which I can express my regret; a regret, too, which I find is shared by many others; here in New England, as well as at the West.

It seems to me our most dangerous advisers are those who counsel Inaction at a time like this.

Mr. Phillips, in his superb speech at Abington on the First, said, "We are to be beggared, our neighbors are to be shot! Our national honor is at stake, and *whoever seals his lips, I shall not seal mine.*" To my intense joy, the sentiment was greeted with general and "prolonged applause."

The Liberator, too, of the 2d of August had several excellent communications from various directions, urging the most untiring and efficient action on our part.

Some of us are trusting to the war to overthrow slavery. I warn such that our very best efforts are yet to be required *to keep up the war!* For whoever supposes a conflict so fearful and deadly will be long continued, with all its sacrifices of blood and tears, of wealth, of conscience and character, all of which are but a part of war's terrible taxations, whoever supposes such a war will be long continued, for no higher considerations than those on which this is based by the government, reasons very widely from any philosophy I have ever learned.

I have weighed well the horrors and miseries of war. And mountainous as they are, one more compromise with slavery, to me, would be far worse. And should the issue at last be, WAR OR COMPROMISE, would not the voice of even Lucretia Mott be loud for war; while Adin Ballou would bless the banners of our battalions, as they hurried to their work of death? And now my other thought. I would keep our moral armor on and bright, were there no other possible motive for it, except to cheer and aid on our now brave-hearted men, who, before this war shall have wasted slavery away, will have wasted almost everything else; and driven both the contending hosts to making terms of adjustment as disastrous to freedom as they would be dishonorable and disgraceful to national honor and character.

And so I would postpone no meetings nor measures, where human effort, taxed to the utmost, can sustain them. I consented to absorbing *The Anti-Slavery Bugle* in THE STANDARD only because it seemed to me possible, by vigorous exertion, to make one paper do equally well the work of both. Whoever withholds any exertion at this hour, which has hitherto been made and can still be made, should look well to his footsteps.

The slaveholders can, and may yet free their most manly slaves, and then arm them against us. Sooner than submit to us, they will. And we have sent enough of them back to bondage, after they had escaped to us, to make it easy for their masters to convince them that they have nothing to hope at our hands. And on what side so ever the slave fights, North or South, on that side at last victory will smile. This is, and shall be, a part of my gospel of warning.

To-morrow, I shall go on my way westward. Next Sunday, I shall be at Linesville, Crawford Co., Pa.; and on the Sunday following, September 1st., shall hold a County meeting somewhere in Ashtabula County, Ohio; and then, probably, devote some time to the Western Reserve, and other parts of the State.

This last announcement is made in the hope that all the old Life Guard of Freedom at the West will still be found, as in time past, at their posts. No party, no Administration, no army as yet, has shown itself worthy to be entrusted with the hallowed interests of liberty and humanity.

PARKER PILLSBURY.

Boston, August 18, 1861.

CARD.

BELIEVING the attempt at Christian union with slaveholders an effort to unite what God intended never should be joined, hence a fundamental and legitimate source of strife, issuing in the most direful national calamity of civil war, the Church Anti-Slavery Society hereby reissue the offer of a prize of ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS for one acceptable Tract, not exceeding twenty-four pages, on the question, "How shall Christians and Christian Churches best absolve themselves from all responsible connection with slavery?"

Manuscripts may be sent to either of the following Committee of award till January 1, 1862.

Rev. I. C. WEBSTER, Hopkinton, Mass.,
Dea. I. WASHBURN, Worcester, Mass.,
Rev. SAMUEL SOUTHER, Worcester, Mass.

SECESSION NEWSPAPERS—PRESENTMENT BY THE GRAND JURY.—The following presentment, signed by every member of the U. S. Grand Jury, was submitted to the U. S. Circuit Court in this city on the 16th inst. Judge Shipman said, as the term was about to close, that the presentment should be handed to Judge Nelson, for his consideration, at the opening of the Court in October.

To the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

The Grand Inquest of the United States of America for the Southern District of New York, beg leave to present the following facts to the Court and ask its advice thereon:

There are certain newspapers within this district which are in the frequent practice of encouraging rebels now in arms against the Federal government, by expressing sympathy and agreement with them.

These papers are

The New York Daily and Weekly Journal of Commerce,
The Daily and Weekly News,
The Daily and Weekly Day Book,
The Freeman's Journal,
all published in the city of New York, and
The Daily and Weekly Eagle,
published in the city of Brooklyn.

The first named of these has just published a list of newspapers in the free States opposed to what it calls "the present unholy war"—a war in defence of our country and its institutions and our most sacred rights, and carried on solely for the restoration of the authority of the government.

The Grand Jury are aware that free governments allow liberty of speech and of the press, to their utmost limit; but there is, nevertheless, a limit. If a person in a fortress, or an army, were to preach to the soldiers submission to the enemy, he would be treated as an offender. Would he be more culpable than the citizen who, in the midst of the most formidable conspiracy of rebellion, tells the conspirators and rebels that they are right, encourages them to persevere in resistance, and condemns the effort of loyal citizens to overcome and punish them, as engaged in an "unholy war." If the utterance of such language in the streets, or through the press, is not a crime, then there is a great defect in our laws, or they were not made for such an emergency.

The conduct of these disloyal papers is, of course, condemned and abhorred by all loyal men, but the Grand Jury will be glad to learn from the Court that it is also subject to indictment and condign punishment.

All which is respectfully presented.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS IN VIRGINIA.—We are indebted to our friend George E. Baker, formerly of Albany, now in the Department of State at Washington, for a map of Virginia, showing the distribution of its Slave Population (by Counties) according to the census of 1860. The Counties (44 in number, embracing one-third of the whole area of the State) in which the slaves are less than one-fifth of the population, are in white; the rest are dark in proportion to the degree in which the soil is blighted by the great curse and crime of the age. The contrast between Eastern and Western Virginia in this respect is very striking, and that between some of the Counties in the first mentioned portion of the State almost equally so. The names of the Counties, their boundaries, and the exact proportion of the slaves in each, are printed in legible characters on the surface; while in the margin is a list of all the Counties, with the number of the white and slave population, and the relative percentage of the latter to the former affixed in tabular form. This map is sold for the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers of the United States army.

INFORMATION WANTED in regard to Alexander or Sandy Hogan, son of Betsey Hogan: He left the service of Mr. Jenkins in Baltimore, in June, 1859, and came to the North to solicit money to purchase the freedom of his wife. He is believed to have been in Birmingham, N. Y., about five weeks ago. Skin light brown. An aged mother is anxious to ascertain his whereabouts and will be grateful for information to Wm. Still, 107 North-Fifth street, Philadelphia.

Anti-slavery papers please copy.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, of Salem, Columbiana Co., Ohio is a local agent of THE STANDARD, to receive payments from old or new subscribers.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 19th, 1861.

I HAVE been silent of late—not from want of matter to write about, but from uncertainty as to what to say. In my dilemma I came to the conclusion to let events speak for themselves; or, when their meaning was ambiguous, to let others be their interpreters. Americans are not deficient in intelligence, and your readers especially are quick to understand. It is surprising to note the unity of judgment that pervades the ranks of Abolitionists on all questions that arise in the progress of this war. With the quickness of instinct, without comparing notes, they are, on all important points, of one mind.

Before the attack on Sumter, when the government was "billing and cooing" with the South, and vainly essaying to effect a compromise, the friends of the slave, as one man, were its censors and opponents; since that event, the attitude of the powers that be, toward the South and in effect toward slavery, having changed, the feelings of Abolitionists have undergone a corresponding revolution. From antagonists they have become friends—in their way—of the Administration, and their distrust has been modified into sympathy. Free to criticise, free to condemn, free to withhold coöperation when their consciences are impinged, they are, nevertheless, as between the two great parties which divide the country, the undisguised friends of the Federal government; ready, when the time comes, to pledge their "lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" for its maintenance.

But that time has not yet fully come. The nation has not yet placed itself square upon the record. The object of the war is equivocal. Ostensibly it is one thing—actually it is another. The fact and appearances must be made to harmonize. Till this be done, men that have a "sacred honor" will not feel at liberty to pledge it. Their sympathies they will freely give; their substance in specific cases they will not withhold; but that unreserve of devotion, which it would be their delight to exhibit, and which it is the province of a great cause to command, can never be called out till this controversy is authoritatively defined to be what it in fact is, a struggle between Civilization and impartial Liberty on the one hand, and Barbarism and Chattel Slavery on the other.

The experience of Abolitionists, before and after the battle of Manassas, furnishes an illustration of the unity of feeling and judgment which I said obtained throughout their ranks. We hoped for victory, but we said that defeat would be best for our cause. We should have rejoiced in a triumph, but our better judgment admonished us to look for and be prepared to welcome disaster. And our better judgment was justified. Disaster came, and a stunning blow it was. For awhile the cloud seemed to be without a "silver lining"; it was only for a moment. It soon became evident to all that the defeat was a wholesome and necessary visitation. It was needful for many things; it diminished visibly the distance between the Government and Emancipation. The nation is steadily moving toward that point; slowly, it is true, but perhaps as fast as it is possible for a body so unwieldy and so incongruous, and so tightly trammelled withal, to advance. Like the huge elephant, that will not trust the bridge that is to carry him over, till, whipped and goaded and foiled at every turn, he finds there is no other resort, we will not have recourse to the crowning measure which is to be at the same time the justification and substantial completion of this war, till we have exhausted all other expedients. The people are not yet ready for this step. God is preparing them for it. He is teaching them by events and instructing them by his prophets. We are loath to hearken, but the rod of correction will compel us to obedience.

Just now another important battle is looked for, and yet another defeat apprehended. To our finite vision this would be a calamity. It would dispirit our friends and strengthen our enemies. It would embolden still further the spirit of secessionism at the North, and give us a formidable enemy in our midst to cope with. With the free States united, our struggle with the slaveholders will be comparatively easy; but let division be organized amongst us, and our task becomes one of the most embarrassing difficulty. Since the battle of Manassas, the latent spirit of pro-slavery has been revealing itself. "We had scotched the snake, not killed it." Another disaster, of like extent, immediately following, would restore the reptile to its former life and more than its former venom.

People here have ceased to speculate as to the probable duration of the war. From present appearances, it will be a long and sanguinary one. As to the precise course it is to take, it would be idle to conjecture. Of the government's policy in regard to it little is known. I have been keeping my mouth shut, and my eyes and ears open, for the last three months, trying to get information on the subject, and have come to the conclusion that the government has no policy. In the Cabinet there is a difference of individual opinion, though in the aggregate there is no disagreement. Mr. Lincoln is an honest man, and means to do right according to his knowledge and ability—which are limited. Not feeling himself adequate to a well devised, positive course, with a definite purpose and a definite plan, he adopts, what is, perhaps, the next best thing, a cautious, negative course. That is, his policy, so far as he has one, is to have no policy. It is to be governed by events; to meet indications as they rise; to treat the patient according to the symptoms. This will do well if, with proper consultations, there be sufficient wisdom to discern and boldness to act. Just such treatment the "sick man" needs. Is Mr. Lincoln adequate to the case? Many a learned leech has found himself at fault when, his prescriptions proving of no avail, he has been called to take the knife.

The end of the war is foreshadowed in the universal expectation; all agree that slavery must go down. *Vox populi, vox Dei.* But the way to that result is a matter of question. That it will be a painful and tedious path it would be foolish to doubt. We will all do well to brace ourselves for a severe trial of our endurance. We shall all have to drink of the bitter cup.

It is not well to count on, nor manly much to desire the coöperation of other nations. We shall have to "tread the wine-press alone." We must work out—as a people—our own salvation. Nations are selfish. England is no exception. Among her people are some of the purest philanthropists in the world. She is, by eminence, the benefactor of the negro and the friend of the anti-slavery cause. But England has never reached the height of virtue required, were she in *our* place, for the abolition of Southern slavery. The cause of Freedom, on this side the water, passed the point, years ago, at which it would have been possible to accomplish the work, had our slaves been in distant colonies even, and our difficulties been susceptible of adjustment by the payment of a price.

Anti-slavery is the traditional policy of England; but to be an Abolitionist in that country is a very different thing to being an Abolitionist in this; a fact proved by many painful experiments. There are good Abolitionists in England, radical, *fiat justitia* friends of the slave, who will bear any test, and whose coöperation with us may at all times be relied upon. These have denounced American slavery, and exposed the sin of its supporters, not because the contrast between them and us—as nations—has been flattering to their self-love, but because in their heart of hearts they hate oppression and desire above all things that we may be redeemed from its curse. This is the spirit which prevails among our recognized coadjutors in Great Britain and Ireland; and we can never be too grateful for the services they have rendered. But to ascribe this spirit to the so-called abolitionism of England in general, would be paying that country a compliment which it by no means deserves.

Nevertheless, England may be properly called an anti-slavery nation. She abolished slavery in her West India Islands; and she did well. She rests on her honors. She enjoys the distinction it has given her. The contrast between her and other nations is grateful to her self-love. She is like a certain class of Quakers, who are never better pleased than in contemplation of the fact that they are "a peculiar people." They are happy in differing from their neighbors; in standing upon a plane a little above those around them. If any one thinks that he will find especial favor in their eyes by adopting their testimonies, let him try it. We Abolitionists have had some experience in that matter. The people of the North, in regard to England, seem likely to have a similar experience.

While, therefore, we Abolitionists, as Abolitionists, may count on the coöperation of English Abolitionists, who are such, let not the people of this country, as a people, count on the sympathy of England. We don't need it. We are better without it. All we ought to ask of our English friends is, that they will keep their people from giving aid or comfort to our enemy. We can work out the problem given us for solution without help from abroad; and our triumph in the end will be of the more value if we do so. It is time, at any rate, that we should cease to "look up" to England; we have got all that was to be obtained from standing in that attitude. She emancipated eight hundred thousand slaves in the colonies; all honor to her for the act. We mean to set free forty hundred thousand in our midst; God give us grace for the duty! Her act of justice cost her one hundred millions of dollars; if ours could be completed with as little disturbance to our social and political fabric, gladly would we give ten times that sum.

The anti-slavery sentiment of England and America has contributed as much, in its reciprocal action, to promote and strengthen the friendly relations of the two countries, as perhaps any other cause, except that of commerce. The Abolitionists of this side have ever resisted, and with effect, the efforts of demagogues and others to perpetuate and intensify the anti-British feeling that was engendered by the wars of '76 and 1812; while to the faithful labors of our coadjutors on the other side of the water this country is largely indebted for the measure of respect it enjoys in English opinion, and the share that is awarded to it, at this time, of English sympathy. May it ever be so. The present is a time that calls for great wisdom and forbearance. The mutual peace of the two countries is placed in jeopardy. Singular to say, the life-long enemies of England here have suddenly become her friends, and her oldest and ablest advocates amongst us are in danger of alienation.

It was unfortunate that your London correspondent, "H. M.," in the beginning of this matter, should have given authority for a fact which otherwise our people would have been slow to credit—that English sympathy was withdrawn from the North, and in a measure transferred to the South, because of the Morrill tariff. Your correspondent's language on that occasion, as I took the liberty at the time of saying, was much to be regretted. She said—you will remember:

"Since I wrote last, the general feeling in this country, and, I believe, in most others, has gone round—if not in favor of the South, at least far away from the North. In the absence of accurate knowledge of the views of the Abolitionists, and of the state of parties, English people have sympathized with "the North," supposing this to be sympathizing with Republican opinion and anti-slavery sentiment and conviction. The Tariff business has been a rude awakening from this kind of dream; and it may be doubted whether the late interest and sympathy can ever be renewed; unless, indeed, by such a practical protest by your countrymen generally as will show that they regard tyranny and injustice with as much disgust at the North as in the South. Nothing short of a national repudiation of this insane protective policy can regain the respect and sympathy of the Old World to the free States. * * The disappointment and concern have been extreme. As soon as the Northern members could have their own way, they have imitated the South as closely as they could in selfish greed and blind cruelty and injustice. * * * This is done in a *spirit of cupidity*. * * * You are seen to have an oligarchy in your own section, just as hostile to justice and freedom as the planter interest. * * * If any class can exercise such tyranny, and if other classes can submit to it, there is an end to liberty and progress in the North, as there has long been in the South; and the great American experiment will have failed in all parts of the Republic."

We, Abolitionists, had been cherishing the belief, in spite of intimations in the London *Times* to the contrary, that the "general feeling" of England was with the people of the free States, but our "dream"—for such it would seem to have been—was dissipated by this emphatically "rude awakening" of your correspondent. We still cannot help thinking that, intending to effect a good object, she made her statements a little broader than the literal facts would otherwise have seemed to justify. I may say here, in passing, that the rebuke administered by your correspondent to parties on this side, for the manner of their reply to her letter, would have been more likely to be effective had it been preceded by some acknowledgment of human infirmity on her own part. The obligations of propriety "in the discussion of great questions," are equally binding on both sides. The one that begins the controversy, especially, should set the example.

In regard to your Dublin correspondent, while I acknowledge the kind terms in which he has taken exception to my incidental remarks about England, I must avow myself unconvinced by his argument. I know that "Lord John" and the London *Times* are not England; but neither is Richard D. Webb, nor the London *Advocate*. It is not merely when her best men speak that England's voice is heard; neither is a declaration of ministers, nor an act of Parliament, her only utterance. In the Canada rebellion, and during the Texas *emeute*, this government, judged by its own outgivings and those of its official organs, was spotless; but we Abolitionists knew better, and, in the latter case, at the very outset, warned the world that it was a conspiracy for the extension of slavery, dependent for success on the aid it might receive from this country. From our course on that occasion, it would not be unwise in our friends in England to take a lesson. While our best thanks are due for all the assistance they have given us in criticizing Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet, as well as for all the other services they have rendered, we beg to suggest that there are machinations now going on in London, Liverpool and Manchester, for the success of a similar conspiracy, only on a vastly more extended scale, which should not escape their vigilance, and which call for the exercise of their most unfaltering fidelity. It may be, as Mr. Webb has said, that there is "not one man in five hundred in England who does not sympathize with the North in their efforts to put down this rebellion": but if that be so, this less than the five-hundredth part of England must be very active and influential; for from that source unquestionably does our rebellion derive a large share of its support and encouragement.

One word more. The position of our government in this war, though equivocal before the world, is in the main correct. All good people here so understand it, and well-informed people abroad will not be justified in a different opinion. Our own criticizers of our own government should not be misinterpreted by people of other governments. Abolitionists often express themselves in glowing terms; and the words of some of them are to be received, without any impeachment of their veracity, *cum grano salis*. Things may be said with apparent propriety, which are only true by construction, or hyperbolically understood. A discriminating candor must be exercised by those who would not fall into error. Your English correspondent does not furnish an illustration of what is needed, when she says—as she does in the letter to which I have already referred—"You Abolitionists have often told us that there was little to choose between the North and the South; and now we feel that you were right." She does, however, furnish constant illustrations of this requisite quality in her able and eminently serviceable articles in the London *News*.

In proof of what I have said of the general feeling of the people of this country in regard to the war, I will add that I have yet to see or hear of the first Abolitionist or Quaker, or true friend of justice of any sect, whose sympathies are not with the Federal government. A minister in the Society of Friends told me, the other day, and with evident complacency, that in his neighborhood—a dense Quaker settlement—a very large proportion of the troops enlisted were the sons indiscriminately of Orthodox, Hicksite and Progressive Friends. Another member of the Society told me, at the same time, that a company, just then formed in another part of the State, was made up, by a large majority, of birth-right members of the Society! The war has been called by some a Quaker war; by others an abolition war; and it must be admitted that it finds much justification in the reasons which give it these appellations.

My letter has already exceeded its natural bounds; but let me say a word before I close in regard to our friend E. M. Davis, to whom you have alluded. Though connected with the army, his position is not so much a martial as a commercial one. In this respect, therefore, he is still in the line of his antecedents. The change of his position morally, as I understand him, he justifies thus: 'Things are changed; the government is not what it used to be; the Union is a different thing; the Stars and Stripes have a new significance'—all of which is true. 'The Constitution is to receive a new construction, or to be made of no avail for some of its old purposes'—which is probable. Assuming the one and anticipating the other, Mr. Davis accepts from the hands of his friend, General Fremont, an office of a semi-military, semi-mercantile position, and is now Assistant Quartermaster in the army of the West, and a member of General Fremont's family at the head-quarters in St. Louis. Whether Mr. Davis's position be consistent or inconsistent with his previously avowed principles—and my belief on that subject need not here be stated—no one who knows him will doubt that he will use it, to the extent of his power, to promote the cause which all his life has laid so near his heart. If to the performance of his duties an opportunity should offer to strike, or cause to be struck, a bold blow for freedom, he is just the man—in will, ability, and courage—to do or cause it to be done. Mr. Davis is the intimate friend of General Fremont, and his duties lie near the General's person.

M.

Our Washington Correspond

WASHINGTON, August 18, 1861.

MR. CAMERON begins to see that in his recent army order in reference to fugitive slaves he has committed a serious blunder. *That he meant well* no one can doubt who has heard him talk upon this whole subject. He had no intention of committing the government in any possible manner to the doctrine that men can be made property. In the clause of the order in which he promises recompense to loyal masters whose slaves shall run away or be used by the Federal government, he unconsciously admits the idea of property. There was no need of any such promise. No one doubts that in the case of forcible emancipation, wherever the master shall be proved perfectly loyal, he would be remunerated by the government, after the rebellion should be subjugated, in a way which should specially present the *claim* of the master upon the government for compensation as if the slave were property. It were enough for Mr. Cameron to prohibit the soldiers from catching runaway slaves, and order them to receive them and set them at work, but the great future of this slave question cannot be settled in an army order, and the Secretary of War should not have attempted so gigantic a work. It is well, however, it should be known that he meant well, and did not perceive the logical results of some of his declarations. This government cannot now afford to say what it will do, or will not do, respecting slavery. What if, in the terrors which may ensue in the slave States, it should utterly destroy the abominable institution—is the government ready to throw out an offer of recompense? The thing would be impossible. What if, to put down the rebellion—say as a last resort—the government should deliberately free every slave in the South, would it undertake to pay money damages to every master who should set up the pretence that he was loyal? Certainly not. But in the event of separation no doubt a fair recompense would be offered the few loyal slaveholders in Maryland and Missouri, and Kentucky if she should remain, so as to make a *free Republic* in point of fact, instead of name. Mr. Cameron is ready for this result—is ready, I judge from what some of his friends say, to annihilate slavery if it stands in the way of the Union or of the Federal government in its attempts to put down the rebellion. The only difficulty is that he does not possess a clear head, or has so much to do that he cannot give any subject the careful attention it should receive.

Our foreign relations begin to attract the attention of all intelligent people. What are England and France negotiating or corresponding so closely about that has reference to American affairs? The Paris correspondents of the London journals indite mysterious little paragraphs respecting the perfect agreement between the English and French governments, and hints respecting action, united action, in the future. There is no doubt that both these governments incline to pick some sort of a quarrel with the United States which shall result in the raising of the blockade. They would doubtless gladly avoid a war with America, but will perhaps risk it to get their usual supply of cotton. These governments complain that the blockade is not effective. Our government replies, that the Congress has authorized the President to close the rebel ports, and that every government possesses the right to close and open ports of entry. If the foreign governments deny this, then the dangerous issue is upon us; for one thing is morally certain, which is, that this government will not relinquish its right to close rebellious ports, not even to avert a foreign war. England holds to this right herself, and would never relinquish it; and if, in our time of trial, she makes war upon us upon this ground, it will be but a pretext, and the genuine cause will be her desire to obtain slave-grown cotton. In such a war, if united with France, it is possible that she might destroy us as a nation, but if this proves true, the day of her punishment would certainly come. It is generally believed here, that in case England and France were to interfere in this quarrel, it would only add intensity to it, and the Federal government would determine that slavery should fall, and with it the great cotton interest. If England and France, therefore, are tempted by their want of cotton to wage war upon the United States government, the result may be that they will lose their cotton altogether. This foreign question is almost as important just now as the one nearer home, which concerns the relative strength of the contending forces. That question must soon be settled. The next battle will be attended with momentous results. It is utter folly to deny that if the government is beaten in the next great battle with the rebels, it will have to abandon all hope of putting down the rebellion with the ordinary means of warfare. No government on the face of the earth can long sustain itself after continuous defeat on the field of battle. It is now about time for the tide to turn, and [illegible] good reason to believe that it *has* turned, and that henceforth our arms will experience no important defeat—nothing which will carry in its train decisive results against us.

"The situation" of our army has not changed in many respects for a week. Few troops are now arriving here, though some go to strengthen the column under Banks. From here it looks as if the free States were getting tired of the war. Is it so? It does not seem *from here* that recruiting goes on with rapidity. Where are the two or three hundred thousand more troops to come from, and *when* are they to be raised? The South is straining every nerve to put a tremendous force in the field, and this very day has more than we! It seems sometimes as if Mr. Lincoln had no expectation of putting down the rebellion. How can he so long as the rebellion is actually stronger than the government? Before we talk confidently of being able to hang Jeff Davis, let us make the Capital safe—let us keep a rebel halter from Mr. Lincoln's neck. Let us first be sure we are able to dictate the terms of separation, if separation should become unavoidable. The game of brag has been played by the North as well as the South, and henceforth we are to take *facts only* into consideration, and no amount of boasting *on either side* will affect the result, or change the opinions of intelligent men as to the probable result.

The government is more hopeful than ever at present, and more determined than ever to crush the rebellion. The general opinion now is, that there will be no more serious fighting for a number of weeks. The rebels will scarcely dare to cross the Potomac in the face of one hundred thousand men, for I suppose with the column under Banks there are a hundred thousand loyal soldiers on the Potomac line. To face such a force would be exceedingly dangerous on the part of the rebels, and it is not believed they will venture to do it. If the rebellion is ever to be crushed, of course the work must soon be commenced. If the government is only fighting for a line of separation, that is another thing, but to do that it must soon risk another battle—*and must win it*. I have the utmost confidence that the next great battle along the Potomac line *will* be won by the Federal troops. McClellan means to postpone an engagement until he is strong enough to win a victory. Another Bull Run affair will cost us too dear, and might cost us the entire matter in dispute. By another month the weather will be suitable, and our forces will probably be sufficiently increased for another advance upon Manassas and Richmond. It is impossible to tell, however, what events may occur precipitating the movements alluded to. It is among the possibilities that it will occur at any moment, in any week, but it is not now the expectation of the government that any forward movement will be made for several weeks—so much I know.

AVON.

REV. ARTHUR B. BRADFORD, a radical Abolitionist during his whole life, a founder of the Free Presbyterian Church, and one of the speakers at the anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society last year, has been appointed U. S. Consul at Amoy, China. He is now in this city, waiting for the departure of the vessel which is to convey him to his post of duty.

BARNUM'S MUSEUM.—This institution, under Mr. Barnum's immediate supervision, and in spite of the hard times, is in the full tide of prosperity, being constantly crowded with visitors, not one of whom goes away with the feeling that he gets less than his money's worth of entertainment and instruction. Besides the learned Seal, the "What is it?" the Aquaria, and other and more permanent objects of curiosity, Mr. Barnum has on exhibition a living Hippopotamus, from the Royal Zoological Gardens, London, purchased and brought to this country, at an expense of over $30,000. This animal was captured on the Nile, a distance of 2,000 miles above Cairo, by order of Abba Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, and presented to the British Zoological Society, London, where he monopolized public attention for a long time, and achieved a reputation for himself and the Society which has reached to every quarter of the civilized world. Nearly a million persons visited him during the last year of his exhibition in London.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—Writers who have taken occasion, from the recent incidental discussion in our columns of the question of Free Trade by Mrs. Martineau and Mr. Greeley, to offer us their views of that subject, are reminded that it does not lie within the proper scope of a journal which exists only for the purpose of assailing and overthrowing slavery. Having allowed Mrs. Martineau to assail the Protective policy in her letters, we could not in justice deny a hearing to a prominent champion of that policy, and therefore gave place to Mr. Greeley's replies. It would be an act of bad faith to open our columns to a general discussion of a topic upon which Abolitionists are divided in opinion, and which has no necessary connection with their cause; but even if this objection did not exist, we could not spare room for such a discussion at the present crisis.

THADDEUS HYATT, the man so long imprisoned by the U. S. Senate for refusing to testify before a Committee of that body appointed to investigate the John Brown affair, has been appointed U. S. Consul to Rochelle.

CAPT. AVIS, John Brown's jailer, according to the latest advices, was not killed in the Bull Run battle, but "lives to fight another day" in behalf of the rebellion.

Chronicles of the War.

THE PRIVATEER SUMTER CAPTURED.

By the arrival of a vessel at this port from St. Thomas we have information which will give unusual pleasure to a host of loyal people. It is that the pirate Sumter, which has been made widely notorious by its recent operations, has been captured at Curacoa. It will be remembered that this pirate had the impudence to spend some days in the port just named; while there one of the seamen deserted; the craft returned in search of the runaway; a vessel-of-war, the name of which is not given, was lying in wait, and pounced upon the Sumter, which was taken, and from her mast head the national flag now waves.

ARREST OF A REBEL LOAN AGENT.

Among the passengers who arrived at this port on the 11th inst., in the steamer Persia, was Thomas S. Serrill, who, on the passage from England, boasted that he had been to that country to contract a loan for the Southern Confederacy, and had in his possession, as the result of his mission, £40,000 in Bank of England notes. Information having been given to the police, Mr. Serrill was arrested, and the money of which he had boasted found on his person. By direction of the authorities at Washington he was sent to Fort Lafayette for safe-keeping. He is a native of Pennsylvania, was formerly a cotton-broker in Philadelphia, but has resided for some years in New Orleans.

FIENDISH OUTRAGE.

Weldon, N. C., Aug. 3.—A blacksmith named Richardson has exhibited here the scalp of a Capt. Clark, of Boston, who was massacred with his men, at Elizabeth City, N. C., on the night of the 1st inst. They had persistently refused to be impressed into the piratical service, and acted with what was thought great contumacy. This fiendish outrage was committed by a drunken mob; so of course "nobody is responsible" any more than if they had been struck by lightning; but that the mob was instigated by persons in authority, no one familiar with the way such things are managed in this section can doubt. The victims were taken from the jail where they were confined and mercilessly butchered. In other instances the crews of prizes have been set adrift in open batteaux—a procedure equivalent to outright murder, if not worse, as the coast is proverbially dangerous, and the chances a thousand to one against rescue, or ever arriving at any Northern port. Whole crews, it is also said, have been burned or sunk with the vessels to which they belonged, after being first heavily ironed and shut up in the hold to prevent escape.—*Tribune.*

COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE FORBIDDEN.

The President has issued a proclamation to the effect that the rebellious States of the South, having refused to obey his command to return to their allegiance, are in insurrection against the National government, and that all commercial relations between them and the loyal States must hereafter be suspended. All goods, and the vehicles or ships conveying them, which are taken in the act of passing between the two sections, are to be forfeited; and all vessels owned in whole or in part by persons in rebellion found in our waters after fifteen days from the date of this proclamation are to be also forfeited.

It is said that the President will soon issue another proclamation declaring the Southern ports to be no longer ports of entry of the United States, in accordance with the law recently enacted by Congress; thereby avoiding all troublesome issues with foreign governments in regard to the blockade.

THE FAMOUS NEGRO REGIMENT.

Washington, August 16, 1861.—To-day a negro arrived in our lines, and was brought to Gen. Mansfield's office. He is one of the celebrated negro regiment. He fought at Bull Run, and made his escape with a servant of Beauregard, after the battle, and succeeded in reaching Point of Rocks after great privation. He states that a regiment of one thousand slaves were brought from the cotton States, and the perfection of their drill led to the organization of two regiments of negroes from South-eastern Virginia. Before the battle they were compelled to drill three hours a day, and for several hours beside were put to work in the entrenchments. At night they were penned up in the rear, and a strict guard placed over them. The Virginia negroes were nearly all anxious to escape, and would do so when the opportunity occurred. Those from the cotton States, however, were fearful of doing so, having been made to believe that their lives would be in danger among our troops.—*Times.*

DANIEL S. DICKINSON ON THE WAR.

The old Democratic "war horse," Daniel S. Dickinson of Binghamton, in a speech lately delivered in Wyoming County, Pa., took strong ground in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war. Referring to Mr. Lincoln's alleged usurpations, about which the "peace men" raise such a howl, he said he was not quite sure that Jeff. Davis & Co. had quite conformed to the Constitution; he said:

"I know not whether Mr. Lincoln has observed the Constitution; indeed, for the purpose of resisting the rebellion, I care not. It is due to him to say, however, that he has seemed to be in good faith attempting to put down the rebellion. He has not done all things as I would have done them, because I would have multiplied his men by about four, and where he has struck one blow I would have struck a dozen (laughter and cheering). Therefore I do not agree with him in that respect. When the day comes we can have a settlement with him, for he is to be held with all other officers to a strict account. But I would not do even that under the smoke of an enemy's guns."

In reference to the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* he said: "If I had possession of a traitor, and no other remedy would arrest treachery, I would suspend the writ, and the individual, too." Mr. Dickinson utterly scouted the idea of putting down the rebellion by any other means than by the strong arm.

LATEST FROM MISSOURI.

Our news from Missouri is important. It is said that Warsaw, Bolivar, and Osceola, in the South-western portion of the State, have been occupied by rebel troops belonging to the army of Gen. Price. It is also said that others of the rebels in that State have taken possession of four towns in Pettis County. Jefferson City was thought to be in danger of an attack. Gen. Price has issued a lying proclamation to the people of Missouri, declaring that the rebel army under his command was raised only for the protection of their "homes and firesides"; that this army has just routed and scattered far and wide the force which "the usurper at Washington" has sent for their subjugation; that he will protect all good citizens in the exercise of their rights, provided they go quietly home; and that any one recognizing the Provisional government of [illegible] State will be treated as an enemy. Guerilla bands [illegible] scouring the western part of Missouri. A railroad train going from Syracuse to Jefferson city, and having on board 250 United States regulars, was fired upon from behind a wood pile and a thicket of bushes; thirty shots were fired, killing one man and wounding several others. At Charleston, Mo., on Monday, a skirmish took place between 250 national troops and 600 rebels, resulting in the rout of the latter with the loss of 40 killed and 17 prisoners. The loss on our side was one killed.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

The government has an intimation from the North, of the formation of an organization which threatens very much to complicate existing difficulties. No reliable information has yet been obtained of the extent of the society, but its purposes have been pretty clearly defined. It seems to be based upon a religious philanthropy, and imbued with the belief that a great Christian duty is to be performed by embracing the present opportunity to free the negroes of the South. There is little doubt but that large numbers of men, impressed with this sentiment, and with the additional incentive of fulfilling a patriotic purpose, have urgently pressed upon the government the propriety of furnishing the arms and material necessary to put this scheme afloat, and that had the government three months ago given the least aid, the rebels of the South would now have to confront a terrible enemy at their own thresholds. The prompt discountenance of the government, it was supposed, had put a stop to this enterprise; but it appears only to have delayed it. Private contributions have been invoked, and with extraordinary success, and the project appears now to be assuming definite shape and excessive proportions. It will be pushed, if possible, beyond the interference of the government.—*Wash. Cor. New York Times.*

PREACHERS HUNG IN TENNESSEE.

From the Mount Vernon Guardian, August 7.

We have the information direct from two intelligent men, living about three and a half miles south of Salem, named E. R. Allen and Allen Straight, who were forced to leave White County, Tennessee, about the 1st of July last, that they were eye-witnesses to the hanging of two ministers of the Gospel connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church, one named Rev. John Green, the other an Elder, named Dodson. These clergymen had been notified to enlist in the Southern army or leave the State, but not supposing the mandate would be enforced upon persons of their calling, they neither enlisted nor did they leave their homes and families. The secession devils took them out and hung them by the neck like dogs. Messrs. Allen and Straight witnessed the affair, and, having been served with a similar notice, they deemed it prudent to leave, as they could not find it in their hearts or conscience to take up arms against the stars and stripes of their country. One of them left a farm worth $6,000. They are both well informed men, and their statements seems to be in every way reliable. At all events, it accords with what we hear of similar outrages in every part of the South. There is, no doubt, whatever, that a reign of terror exists in that region, of which we in the North can form but a faint conception.

TERRIBLE BATTLE IN MISSOURI—GEN. LYON KILLED.

On Saturday, the 10th inst., the Union forces under Gen. Lyon, numbering only 5,500, gave battle, near Springfield, Mo., to a body of more than 20,000 rebels under Generals McCulloch and Price. The rebels were again and again repulsed and driven back by the gallant Union men from Missouri, Iowa, and Kansas, but the latter were too few in number to win a victory, and so, after a battle which lasted from 6 to 11 a.m., and after their brave commander, Gen. Lyon, had been killed, they retreated to Springfield to avoid being outflanked. The reports of the battle exhibit evidences of undaunted bravery on the part of the Union troops. Gen. Lyon fell while leading a bayonet charge of Iowa troops. The enemy, notwithstanding their superior numbers, were so badly cut up that they made no attempt to follow the Union men upon their retirement. Major Sturgis took command after Gen. Lyon fell. The loss on our side is estimated at 200 killed and 700 wounded. The rebel loss is estimated at from 2,500 to 3,000. Ben. McCulloch is said to be among the killed. Our men took 100 horses and 69 prisoners. Major Sturgis believing himself too weak to hold Springfield, and fearing the enemy would outflank him, retired to Rolla, where he arrived in good condition. It is definitely ascertained that the enemy had in this action 11,000 well-disciplined men, and 10,000 irregular troops; on our side, early in the fight we had only 5,000 men, and during the latter part of the affair only 4,000.

The rebels designed to push on to St. Louis, evidently expecting to take the city. Gen. Fremont promptly declared martial law, and it is hoped that his energy and promptness will enable him to hold the place against a superior force.

ARREST OF A REBEL BEARER OF DISPATCHES.

On Wednesday, 14th inst., a dispatch was received in this city from Washington, advising the United States officers of this city to be on the alert for a Mr. Robert Muir, who left Charleston, South Carolina, a few days since, and directing that he be taken into custody, as they had received information which led them to believe he was a bearer of dispatches from Jeff. Davis to the British government. A full description of Muir was also given, and during the forenoon John Young and a number of other detectives proceeded to Jersey City, and stationed themselves on the Cunard dock, where they could watch the steamer and the movements of those on board.

A few minutes before the Africa sailed, a gentleman fully answering the description, was seen to go on board. Shortly afterwards a messenger was sent by the officers to his state-room, who informed him that his presence was required on the dock.

Mr. Muir soon made his appearance, and was taken into custody. He was very indignant at the treatment, and demanded his release. Mr. Muir is a cousin of the British Consul at New Orleans, and a resident of Charleston, South Carolina. He was brought to this city, and taken to Police Headquarters. His trunks were removed from the steamer, and taken charge of by the police. It is said that several papers were found upon his person, showing that he was a bearer of dispatches from the rebels.

"SABLE CLOUDS."

MORE CONTRABANDS.—*Fortress Monroe, August 15.*—A new consignment of contrabands came down from Newport News to-day, having fled from a long distance up James River. They report more on the way—men, women and children. At the rate they have increased of late, by the time winter fairly sets in, the number who will claim rations from the government storehouse will be thousands instead of hundreds. The question concerning what disposition shall be made of them, it would seem, must receive fuller consideration than has yet been given it, and some more definite conclusion arrived at. The reply of Secretary Cameron hardly covers the case, and falls short of a full treatment of the question as it is practically presented here.—*Times.*

FEARS OF INSURRECTION.—A letter in *The Tribune*, dated at Gatesville, N. C., Aug. 4, says: "The rumors of servile insurrection are still more threatening further southward—in South Carolina and Alabama—and I believe this whole Southern fabric is underlaid by subterranean fires that may blaze forth ruinously at any moment. The vague but fearful apprehensions of the slave-owners cannot be disguised. Fremont is a name of terror, and his active participation in the war for the Union makes them tremble in their shoes. The Belshazzar of bondage already sees the "handwriting upon the wall." A Mr. Pitman, of Isle of Wight Co. (Va.), an itinerant Baptist minister, was brutally murdered at Bullard's Bridge, last Thursday, for alleged tampering with slaves. Elder Pitman had been before accused of abolitionism, but had strenuously denied the charge. He was by many reputed partially insane. He was a man of little education, but great enthusiasm and deep piety, and felt it his peculiar call to preach the Gospel to "Christ's poor"—that is, the negroes. His harangues to them were singularly wild and eccentric, and he always allowed them the largest liberty of dancing, singing and other manifestations of their religious fervor. His persecutors have now triumphed, and he is a victim to what was doubtless a sincere Christian charity. Mr. Pitman usually made his tour, with a horse and buggy, seeking hospitality wherever night overtook him, paying for his provender in prayer and praise. This is but one of scores of well authenticated cases. There are martyrs and murdered innocents, even in our times.

GENERAL FREMONT ON CONTRABAND SLAVES.—The following order defines the position of Gen. Fremont in relation to fugitive slaves:

HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEPARTMENT,
ST. LOUIS, August 10, 1861.

TO SAMUEL T. GLOVER, ESQ.—*Sir:* I am instructed by Major-General Fremont to say to you in reference to the two slaves that were taken from certain 'Union men' in the North-western portion of the State, by Col. Turchin of the Nineteenth Indiana Volunteers, that portion of the State being then and now in a state of insurrection, the slaves having been brought to this city with the regiment, afterward detained in the Arsenal, and afterward escaped beyond recovery; and most of the circumstances occurring before their arrival in this city, that he would suggest to the claimants of the slaves that they prove their claim and the fair value of the slaves, as well as their own position as open, active friends of the General government, having all properly affirmed to before some legal authority; that said documents be transmitted to him, when he will forward them to the government at Washington, with his recommendation that the claim be paid. And he further desires me to say that he cannot consent that this should be considered as a precedent for the settlement of similar cases where the circumstances may materially differ.

Very respectfully,
E. M. DAVIS, Captain and Secretary.

FORTRESS MONROE, Aug. 11.—Negroes who have recently sought refuge within the Federal lines agree in representing that there are bands of kidnappers scouring the country for many miles around. These land-pirates systematically steal all the able-bodied, salable negroes they can, and run them off to the Southern markets and pocket the proceeds. This system of land-piracy has, according to representation, been carried on to a considerable extent. So that, between the flight of negroes and the stealing by the land-pirates, the owners of this species of property in this region are likely to fare badly. This fact illustrates the morals of the rebels, and their proclivity for the slave trade. In this section property in slaves some time since ceased to have any real value. The standard of valuation is completely broken down, and sales of slaves are not heard of. The relation of master and slave does not exist, and it involves no one in the charge of abolitionism to predict that there is hardly any likelihood of its ever being revived. This state of things must necessarily have a radical effect in landed and every other species of property related to labor. Indeed, every other kind of property has but little more real value than that in negroes. If the lands in this part of the State are ever again cultivated, it must be by free labor. Some of the finest estates in Virginia were in this part of the State. Nearly all of them are now abandoned, and running to waste, master and slave having alike fled, but generally in opposite directions.

The question has been asked, what is the *status* of children born of parents hitherto slaves in Virginia, now fugitives beyond her limits, on Old Point, where the United States has exclusive jurisdiction? Are they not free? This is among the not least interesting phases of the negro question, as presented in this military department.

Negroes continue to arrive at Newport News and at the Fortress, at the former place in great numbers. They generally tell about the same story, and represent that they fled to escape being compelled to work on the rebel trenches or sent for sale to the South. They agree in saying that the entire male population, so far as their observation extends, are in the ranks, or away from home on account of the war. The negroes appear to be about the only class of persons not frightened out of their wits by the stories which the rebels tell about the barbarities of the Yankees. I have not heard of a single instance where a negro has been deceived in this respect. As a general thing, they appear to have a clear idea that the question of slavery is intimately related to the war.

HOW THE "CONTRABANDS" RUN.—That the slaves know what is going on is very clear from the reports that reach us from all quarters of the South. The Washington *Intelligencer* publishes the following statement from a correspondent in St. Mary's County, Maryland, dated August 15:

"There is quite a rush to our shore of the blacks from Virginia. On Tuesday morning last a bateau in which there were ten likely negroes, was stranded on Cornfield Point. They got safe to land, and were taken up by the neighborhood patrol, and last night, I believe, they were taken back to Virginia. Virginia, who was so sensitive about losing a single fugitive slave that she joined in this unnatural rebellious war, is now having her negroes escaping by hundreds."

A correspondent of the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* writes from Washington:

"Finally, our informant reports the conduct of the slaves brought into communication with our army as excellent. Wherever opportunity has offered they have deserted *en masse*, and have rendered valuable service as spies, and no one instance is known of their having proved faithless to their trusts; it mattered little whether their owners were Union men or secessionists; they all quit service as soon as an opportunity offered. A Union man in the vicinity of Alexandria, whose property had been protected by the army, came into camp one day with a statement that it was of no use to try to keep any 'niggers' in the vicinity of the army. 'Even old aunt Elsie,' said he, 'who is over seventy years old, who has nursed me and my children, and who neither does nor can work longer—even she left me this morning.'"

NEGRO PATRIOTISM.—I sat in my tent door, last evening, says a correspondent, thoughtfully, but very thoughtlessly, humming "Dixie." I had not observed "Charles," a servant of "contraband" here, who sat just within the tent.

"We stop singin' dat song now, massa!" said he, interrupting me.

"Why?" I asked.

Charles was confused for a moment, but I pressed the question.

"Well," he replied hesitatingly, "it don't b'long to my perfession, sir, dat's all, I s'pose. I don't wish I was in Dixie, I'se sure," continued he. "None o' the niggers does; you may bet your soul o' dat."

"Where is Dixie, Charles?"

"'S Norfolk, *dats* what it is," was the indignant reply. "Kills de niggers in Dixie, jist like sheep, a working in the batteries!"

The idea of our contest is fully appreciated by the colored people. The representation at the North that the slaves do not understand the cause for which the Federal army are moving upon the South, are entirely false. I have seen here and in Hampton scores of the fugitives, and conversed with them, and I have never found one who did not perfectly understand the issue of the war, and hang with anxiety on its success or failure.

I was particularly struck with this at Hampton, when the battle of Great Bethel was progressing. They crowded together in little squads about the streets, listening to the reports of the cannon in the distance or the accounts of those who came in from the field. Many of them were almost insane with anxiety, and expressed themselves extravagantly.

"If the Unioners get the fight," I said, "what will it do for you?"

"*Den we'll be free!*" answered all who stood near me, almost in one breath.

"But if they lose the battle?"

"Oh, den it be worser for us dan ebber," they said, shaking their heads mournfully, and in their simplicity believing that all the issue of the war hung upon the result of that day. They are coming in day by day, some of them managing to steal their way from great distances.

VARIOUS FACTS AND INCIDENTS.

MAJ.-GEN. FREMONT seized last week $58,000 in the Bank of St. Genevieve, Mo., which was intended for the use of the rebels.

IT is said that Johnson and Beauregard have been reënforced since the battle of Bull Run by from 15,000 to 20,000 men, and that Yorktown, Norfolk, and Richmond have been stripped of troops to menace the Capital and Maryland.

A JOHN BROWN MAN.—We received a call from Lieut. Copple yesterday. He is now an officer in Capt. Allen's company, in the Third Regiment. The Lieutenant was one of the twenty-two men who invaded the sacred soil of Virginia some two years ago.—*Leavenworth (Kansas) Conservative, August 6.*

MR. PIERCE BUTLER has been arrested in Philadelphia on a charge of treason. He is the man who sold a large number of slaves at the South, two or three years ago, and who headed the opposition which drove the Rev. Dudley Tyng from the Church of the Epiphany in Philadelphia. There is a report that Mr. Reed, late Minister to China, was also arrested, but it lacks confirmation.

BEAUREGARD'S HORSE.—It is stated that the horse killed under Gen. Beauregard was struck in the flank by a 6-pound cannon shot, which hit not quite a foot from the General's right leg. The horse was a splendid animal, furnished General Beauregard the morning of the battle by his aid, Col. Manning, and was a blooded animal of admirable points.—*New Orleans Crescent.*

AN INFAMOUS ACT.—The Providence, R. I., *Herald*, August 10, relates the following execrable act of the captain of the transport steamer City of New York: "A runaway slave secreted himself on board the transport steamer City of New York, which arrived here yesterday morning with the wounded and disabled Rhode Islanders from Washington. When he first showed himself, the steamer had proceeded well on her way down the Potomac. The captain promptly hailed a Philadelphia steamer bound to Washington, and put him on board to be returned to his owner—said to be a strong Union man. Some objection was made by one or more of the passengers on the steamer to the action of the captain, but it did not avail."

YANKEES FILLING THE OFFICES AT RICHMOND.—The mode by which such a number of Yankees have screwed themselves into the departments of the Confederate government is not a little curious. It is an instance of patented, combination, double-acting toadyism, quite worthy of the Yankee invention.

We are fully advised of it. A discarded Yankee, from Washington, trained in the subservient arts and dirty dodges of office-seeking there, and, perhaps, representing himself as a Southerner to the manor born, when the old editions of the "Blue Book" show him to have been an unmitigated Yankee, applies for office in some department of the Confederate government. The toadyism commences; the dirty dodge of nativity succeeds; the cheap recommendation of "Southern letters" predispose the good-natured secretary to favor, and a few well-put adulations secure, from the vanity they solicit, a prominent office for the ingenious toady.—*Richmond Examiner.*

Summary.

THE admission of a colored girl into the Normal Department of the High School in Chicago has occasioned a small tempest in that locality, and many white parents threaten to remove their children from the institution in consequence. The colored girl will probably have to leave, as according to the laws of Illinois negroes are ineligible for teachers.

THE "FRATERNITY" propose to observe the forthcoming anniversary of the birthday of the late Theodore Parker by suitable exercises at Allston Hall, on Friday evening, the 23d inst. Brief addresses will be made by several of Mr. Parker's friends, interspersed with music, and the occasion will doubtless be one of much interest.—*Liberator, 16th.*

FROM UTAH.—Mr. A. G. Saxton, who arrived at St. Joseph a few days ago from Fort Bridger, Utah, reports a serious state of affairs in that Territory. The Mormons are declaring their design to separate from the United States, and erect their Territory into an independent province. They had seized a vast amount of government stores and provisions, and carried them to Salt Lake City. This seizure made provisions so abundant, that bacon was worth only half a cent per pound, and flour thirty-five cents a sack. The Mormons further declare, that no more government trains shall pass through their Territory hereafter.—*St. Louis News.*

CHILDREN'S MEETING.—The Annual Children's Meeting at Longwood was under a cloud on Saturday; but, notwithstanding the unpropitious weather, all the adjoining Counties were represented, including the little State of Delaware. Some came a distance of twenty-five miles. The little house was filled to overflowing. Uncle Joseph said some good things for children of all ages. Father Beeson talked about the Indians. The little Misses Posey and Phillips sang sweetly. Laroequa, the Indian woman, appeared in Indian costume (quite modernized and civilized) and gave us a couple of songs in her exquisitely sweet tones. It was a day well, pleasantly and profitably spent.—*Chester County, Pa., Times, 20th.*

HUBBARDSTON.—M. E. H. Heywood of Boston gave an address in Hubbardston on Sunday, 11th inst., on "The War." The Unitarian Church had been engaged for him the week previous, and notices of his meeting were read from the pulpits. But during the week some turbulent individuals threatened disorder, and the parish committee deemed it proper to reverse their decision. Boisterous efforts were made to prevent his obtaining any place to fulfil his appointment; but, on the guaranty of three responsible citizens for any damage which might occur, the Mechanics' Hall was finally secured. The meeting, thus liberally advertised, was of course very large, and Mr. Heywood was favored with an attentive and respectful audience, not a whisper of disturbance being heard during his interesting address.—*Worcester (Mass.) Spy.*

A FIRST RATE JOKE.—A short time since, Judge Ish, of Holt County, of powder memory, finding the latitude growing too unwholesome for him, moved his stakes toward the realms of Dixie, leaving farm, "contrabands," and other property behind. After reaching a place of safety, and taking time to think over the uncertainty of nigger flesh in the community he had left, he wrote to his boys to take his four negro men South and sell them, which they forthwith prepared to do. But the niggers got wind of it, and the night before the day set for starting, two of them came up missing, and still remain so. However, there were two more left, and with these the Southern pilgrimage was begun. But a report comes back, that after travelling a long way on their journey, the two negroes one night took the best two mules in the party, and made good their escape also! This result is precisely what William P. Hall tried to tell the people of Holt would come to pass, when Judge Ish and men of his stripe cried the speaker down. They are the first to realize its fulfilment. The price of four robust niggers would buy a good many kegs of powder!—*White Cloud, Kansas, Chief.*

Miscellaneous Department.

MY DOVES.

BY ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.

My little doves have left a nest
Upon an Indian tree,
Whose leaves fantastic take their rest
Or motion from the sea;
As gently there the breezes blow,
From land and water to and fro.

The tropic flowers looked up to it,
The tropic stars looked down,
And there my little doves would sit,
With feathers softly brown;
And glittering eyes that showed their right
To general Nature's deep delight.

And God them taught at every sound
Of water and of wind,
To mingle in with all around,
Their chanting voices kind;
Interpreting that love must be
The meaning of the earth and sea.

Fit ministers of heavenly love,
Theirs hath the calmest flow;
They draw their well-springs from above,
Who humbly seek below—
And understand the voice that springs
From language of insensate things.

My little doves were ta'en away
From that glad nest of theirs,
And borne o'er ocean day by day,
To distant, changeful spheres.
My little doves! who lately knew
The sea and sky, by warmth and blue!

And now within the city prison,
In mist and chillness pent,
With sudden upward look they listen
For sounds of past content—
For lapse of water, swell of breeze,
Or nut-fruit falling from the trees!

The stir without, the glow of passion—
The triumphs of the mart—
The gold and silver's dreary clashing
On man's metallic heart—
The wheeled pomp, the pauper tread—
These only sounds are heard instead.

Yet still, as on my well-known hand,
Their fearless heads they lean,
And almost seem to understand
What human musings mean—
As with such answering sympathy,
They turn their upward look to me—

Their chant is soft as on the nest,
Beneath the sunny sky;
For love that stirred it in their breast
Remains undyingly,
And 'neath the city's shade can keep
The well of music clear and deep.

And love that keeps the music, fills
With pastoral memories
All echoings from out the hills,
All droppings from the skies—
All flowings from the wave and wind,
Remembered in their chant I find.

So teach ye me the wisest part,
My little doves! to move
Along the city's ways, with heart
Assured by holy love,
And vocal with such songs as own
A fountain to the world unknown.

'Twas hard to sing by Babel's stream,
More hard in Babel's street!
But if the soulless creatures deem
Their music not unmeet
For sunless walls—let us begin,
Who find immortal wings within!

To me fair memories belong
Of scenes that erst did bless;
For no regret—but present song,
And lasting thankfulness—
And very soon to break away,
Like types, in purer things than they!

I will have hopes that cannot fade,
For flowers the valley yields—
I will have humble thoughts, instead
Of silent, dewy fields!
My spirit and my God shall be
My seaward hill, my boundless sea!

THE ANNIVERSARY OF NEGRO EMANCIPATION.

From The London Morning Star and Dial, Aug. 2.

Last evening a public meeting in commemoration of the twenty-seventh anniversary of Negro Emancipation was held in Spafields Chapel, under the auspices of the London Emancipation Committee. There was a large and enthusiastic audience.

The chair was occupied by Mr. Wilcocks, who was supported by Mr. Geo. Thompson, Rev. Dr. Hewlett, Mr. Washington Wilks, Mr. W. Farmer, Mr. D. McDonnell, Mr. J. A. Horner, Mr. Chesson, John Anderson, and other gentlemen.

The Chairman said that he felt much gratified with the honor put upon him on this occasion, for it gave him great pleasure to be identified with the cause of emancipation.

Mr. Chesson (the hon. secretary) then read letters expressing sympathy with the meeting from T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P., General Perronet Thompson, and General Dupuy, the Haytian Minister.

General Thompson in his letter said: "If the British West India Islands, on the first appointment of a Ministry inimical to slavery, had done what has been done by the Seceding States—stormed the forts occupied by the troops of the Sovereign, privateered against the commerce of the country, and raised regiments with Lord Grey's coffin for a standard—I suppose nobody doubts what would have been the course pursued as the means of removing the whole mischief with the least amount of blood and danger. An English commander-in-chief would have been considered as unfit for his situation to an extent it would be vain to describe, if, as soon as he found himself in command of a competent force, he did not move forward with a declaration of this kind—'Slavery is non-existent in all places occupied by the British forces. Slaves are invited to make no movement before the liberating force arrives in their own parish. Violence out of the field of combat, either by whites or colored, will be put down by military force as soon as they can be reached. As fast as any district is occupied, volunteers from the colored population will be invited to join the three West India regiments and the Land Transport Corps, on terms which will be notified. Planters willing to continue their works by giving present support to their laborers, will receive immunity for the past, on entering the British camp, and military protection for the future. Vagrants found committing depredations will be sent to a punishment-gang.' It is submitted that a general officer who did not do something like this, would lose caste; and that those who should try to hinder him would be defective either in judgment or in principle."

The Rev. W. H. Bonner was then called upon to move the first resolution, which was to the following effect: "That on this, the twenty-seventh anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, this meeting would joyfully record the satisfaction which it feels in the retrospect of the results which have followed from the Emancipation Act of 1833, which have demonstrated that that Act was not one more of national justice than of sound policy; it would also rejoice in the fact that the liberated population have, by their conduct, triumphantly vindicated their capacity for freedom as well as their right to it, and have demonstrated the safety and advantage, as well as the duty and necessity, of immediate and unconditional emancipation." The reverend gentleman, in the course of his remarks, read a long and interesting communication from Mr. Roycroft, a missionary just returned from St. Domingo, upon the condition and prospects of the colored race upon Turk's Island and in St. Domingo.

The Rev. Dr. Hewlett seconded the resolution. He said it had cost the country twenty millions sterling to liberate the slaves in the West Indies, but never were twenty millions better laid out than in this cause. This was the universal opinion of Englishmen of the present day, but his friend Mr. George Thompson would very well recollect the opposition at that time to emancipation. It proceeded, however, from those who had vested interests in the continuance of slavery, and seldom from those who could judge with honesty and impartiality. Notwithstanding the sterling value of able-bodied slaves, they were not treated with the care which any Essex farmer would bestow upon his cattle, and thus the property in slaves was of a most precarious and unprofitable kind. In conclusion, the speaker expressed a hope that success would attend the efforts of those who were endeavoring to place British consuls at points all round the coast of Africa—a measure which he believed would prove to be an effectual barrier to the slave trade.

Mr. George Thompson proposed the second resolution, as follows: "That it is the conviction of this meeting that the civil war now waging in America has been caused by the existence and toleration of the institution of slavery, in violation of the primary principles of the Declaration of Independence, upon which the Union was professedly founded; and would express its earnest hope that the people of the free States will embrace the opportunity which the war furnishes to declare, through their elected organ, the abolition of slavery throughout all the States and Territories over which the authority of the Constitution extends, and thereby perform an act of justice and humanity to four millions of their population, ensure the more speedy termination of the present unnatural and sanguinary conflict, command the hearty sympathy and admiration of England, and lay a foundation for the future and permanent peace, prosperity, and unsullied reputation of their great republic." It would be, he said, no exaggeration to say that no public speaker could rise to discuss a question of greater gravity or of deeper import than that which was submitted to them on this occasion. Nothing which was happening in any part of the world could approach, in political and moral importance, that which was now happening in the United States of America. There was no spot on the globe that would not be affected for good or for evil by the results which would spring from the contest now waging on the other side of the Atlantic. The resolution referred to slavery as the cause of that monstrous internecine war—a system which was held in detestation by every community throughout the world; and there was not a single intelligent being, who knew the history of American politics, who would not maintain that it was the sole gravamen of the quarrel between North and South (cheers). But for this harmony would still prevail. The Union had indeed been preserved for a long series of years in spite of it; but that cohesion had been secured by continual compromises on the part of the Northern States in order to conciliate the South, who, in their caprice and their aggrandising spirit, had called upon the North to violate their fundamental principles as the price of a continued union with their Southern brethren. Only six months ago, slavery seemed to be seated on a throne supreme and invincible, while it had swayed the political feelings and guided the political action of the country at large. If the South were no longer supreme, and slavery was shaken to its very centre, it was owing to her fatuity, her judicial blindness, which would not see that slavery would be safe so long as they remained in the Union, because being within it they secured the entire physical force of the States, as well as the whole moral force of the country, in perpetuation of their institution of slavery (hear, hear). Under the influence of this madness they determined to separate themselves from the North, and make themselves into a distinct and independent nation. And as our own West India emancipation was brought about far less by the advocacy of men whose names were rendered immortal by their connection with that great event—such as Clarkson and Wilberforce—than by the outrages and cruelty of the planters and colonists themselves, so in America the blow to slavery came not from the Abolitionists, but by the very act of the slave States themselves (cheers). Mr. Lincoln did not differ from any other President who had ever been elected, except that he had given a pledge not only that he would do nothing to extend the area of slavery, but that he would use all his influence to limit and contract it. This was the maximum of Mr. Lincoln's anti-slavery. He was believed to be an honest politician, and also to hold that slavery was a sin against the laws of God and man. This was what recommended him to the Abolitionists, and this was the head and front of his offending against the Southern States. Mr. Thompson proceeded at considerable length, and in an eloquent manner, to explain his views with regard to the state of affairs in America; and, in conclusion, he said that the resolution he had to submit asked them, in the presence of the war, and without regard to the question of its constitutional character, to combine in beseeching the Federal government to adopt a policy of emancipation, so that the cause of this and, it was to be feared, of future wars might be removed, and that great nation be made free, and one with us, in spreading the principles of liberty all over the globe (loud cheers).

Mr. Washington Wilks, in supporting the resolution, said, whatever might be the degree of hopefulness with which they regarded the issue of the war, they could not but deplore the fact itself. When the scene of war is not the ocean, the common pathway between nation and nation, but the soil on which both combatants were born, how much greater were its horrors! Men from North and South intermarried, and intermingled so that no one could tell on seeing an American from what State he came, what side in the struggle he would take (hear, hear). We could only regard the Americans as another branch of the same great family with ourselves, so closely were we identified in language, in history, in religion, and almost in laws. In pointing out, therefore, the causes and the issues of this war, let the language of sympathy towards their brethren be used (hear, hear). With regard to the cause of the war, they could but feel that the language of the resolution was a truism, and that only by the destruction of slavery could the war be lastingly terminated (cheers). That had been the evil and bitter root which had brought forth the harvest of disaster. They could not blame the founders of the Republic. No men could be more pure from human passion and infirmity than they who laid the foundation of that noble structure. It was not now a question of liberty for the slave only, but of liberty for the white population of the North as well; for the South demanded nothing less than this—that no man should speak or print a word against slavery, or do a single act which should help a slave to escape. Suppose their elect were placed in the chair of the Father of the Republic; give to them a facile Congress; allow them to recast the American statute-book; they would so pervert the Constitution that America, instead of being the widest canopy of freedom under heaven, would become the darkest den of despotism (hear, hear). Years ago their own poet had warned them when he said—

"There is a poor, blind Samson in this land."

(cheers). We repeat the warning to-day, and we say, "Be wise in time; be generous, and thereby prove yourselves sagacious." They had met that night to commemorate a great act of justice, and on this occasion he hoped they would address the American people through the press, in the language of encouragement to the cause of justice. Mr. Wilks then referred to the annexation of St. Domingo by Spain, urging the duty of England to protest against such an outrage on international law, and concluded amidst loud cheers.

The Chairman announced that John Anderson was to be placed for his education under the care of Dr. Hewlett, and also that a benevolent lady had volunteered to buy his wife and children out of slavery forthwith.

These statements were received with great applause.

Mr. Thompson moved and Mr. Ebenezer Burr seconded a supplementary resolution to the following effect: "That this meeting desires to express, in emphatic terms, its indignant reprobation of the conduct of Spain in annexing the negro Republic of St. Domingo by the combined influences of treachery and armed force; that it deeply sympathises with the Dominican people, who have been made to suffer this grievous wrong, and also with their Haytian fellow-countrymen who are placed in a position of great difficulty and danger; and, lastly, it requests the chairman, on its behalf, to make known to her Majesty's Foreign Secretary the strong conviction it entertains that England has not fulfilled her duty in this matter, inasmuch as she has failed to protest against the crime of which Spain has been guilty, although such a protest was as much called for by a due regard to British interests, and to the future safety of our emancipated fellow subjects in the West Indies, as by a feeling of just compassion for the victims of Spanish lawlessness and ambition."

John Anderson, the fugitive slave, then came forward and declared how grateful he was for the kindness of the British people, and how happy he felt to be among them. He then gave a short resume of his chase and the fall of Digges, which are already so familiar to the English public. He gave his account in such a modest, but frank manner, that he won the applause of the meeting, and was listened to with great attention.

A vote of thanks to the chairman, and to the trustees of the chapel, terminated the proceedings.

WE MUST FIGHT THEM OR FREE THEM.

From The New Bedford Mercury.

As this rebellion ripens, and the fierce, vindictive hatred of armed traitors toward the men who love the Union and toward the institutions of freedom takes shape and becomes concrete, the feeling all over the free States is becoming fixed and crystalized into conviction that the time is drawing nigh when we must "fight them or free them." Let us look this alternative in the face for a moment. There is nothing in it unnatural; indeed, is it not a fact that there is logic in the alternative, which will vindicate itself! The Southern rebel has educated his slave into the belief that the people opposed to him and his treason are the bitterest foes that the slave can have. We have farther to believe that in every State there are on plantations and in cities many men who are in bonds—but who know a good deal about the causes which underlie secession and which have developed into rebellion and rank treason. But the great body of slaves may, for aught we know, so far trust their masters as to fear and dread what they call the "Abolitionist." If that be so, then we must anticipate armed opposition from the slave unless he shall be undeceived as to the end attainable by this war. Why should he not oppose us? He sees no good to himself in our march through the South. Indeed, he has understood that it was the office and vocation of the "Abolitionist" to worry and capture the black race, and, of course, he is prepared to fight against us. There is no doubt that we shall have armed slaves against us. Our people are conservative—rightfully so. Law and loyalty are necessarily conservative, and it is said that we must be careful of the Constitution and of all guaranteed rights. All that is well enough. But we need not stultify ourselves. If slaves are made to oppose us or to help their masters oppose us! If these millions of men are compelled to work to our injury! then, what? Why then the alternative presents itself! We must fight them or free them!

But we must not fight them! Such warfare as that we cannot engage in. We are men for their masters! Then the alternative is left and we must free them! And so surely as these blind rebels shall strengthen themselves by slave labor, using their "chattels" to our destruction, so surely we shall vitalize their property and convert it into men and women! Why not? Why shall we not convert the slave whom his master compels to be hostile into the freeman who is ready to be friendly! It is wholly absurd to suppose that this rebellion can continue and that slave labor can be turned against us without a proclamation from our headquarters of deliverance and freedom to those that are enslaved.

And we say, in God's name, be it so! If slavery is to be thus turned against freedom, slavery had better be turned into freedom quickly! If the owners of men and women under the name of chattels shall madly use their property as *instruments of war* and turn it to our destruction, then we prefer that those men and women shall belong to themselves and give us the benefit of their skill and their experience and their strength and their new freedom.

There are other and higher views to be taken of this whole question. But this will answer for now! And when the time comes that must compel us to fight them or free them we say—Let them go free!

LET US HEAR NO MORE OF SENDING BACK THE SLAVE.

Stand up in the Capitol, and proclaim
To wondering nations the fearful game
Which the soldiers play for us, North and South,
At the bayonet's point and the cannon's mouth—
Count up the stakes, and reckon the chances,
Say as each bristling column advances,
"So we contend against slavery,
Lying and cheating and knavery"—
And then send back the slave.

North, East, and West have poured out their treasures—
Doubled their tithes, and heaped up their measures—
Called to the strong man, "Your arm for the fight,
Crush the proud traitor, and strike for the Right!"
Into the ranks slip young men and old men—
Into the ranks step wise men and old men—
And the mothers kiss and caress them,
And the maidens cheer them and bless them—
And you send back the slave.

"Forward!" they march at the President's call
Through Baltimore's streets to the Capitol.
"Forward!" where foes are entrenched in their might.
(Now God be with them and favor the Right!)
And they see the hard battle before them,
And they think of the mothers who bore them,
And the maidens' cheers and flatteries—
March up to the murderous batteries—
While you send back the slave.

Weary and thirsty, they strike for the Right—
New men, but true men, they gallantly fight,
Bravely trusting, they stand by their flags
Till their gay colors are torn into rags.
They are falling, the young men and bold men,
They are falling, the wise men and old men—
And the cannon-ball leaps and whistles,
And cuts down the shamrocks and thistles—
And you send back the slave.

Ay, weep for the soldiers who lie there dead,
And weep for the soldiers who turned and fled.
Send to the Northland, and gather a host,
Fill up the places of those you have lost.
Cry to the nations, "Come now and aid us
Crush out the wrong for which you upbraid us."
Then call upon God for assistance,
For strength in your holy resistance—
And then send back the slave.

My countrymen, can you not understand
'Tis a holy war which the Lord hath planned;
That Justice and Vengeance shall make you strong
When you throw in the scales the ponderous WRONG?
They have hated you, scorned you, scoffed you,
And now from the field they have routed you,
While you, with clinging humility,
Kiss their soft hands in servility—
And you send back the slave.

August 1, 1861. VIERGE.

—*Independent.*

THE AMERICAN CRISIS IN LONDON.

From The London Inquirer.

On Wednesday afternoon, July 24, a meeting was held at Willis's Rooms for the purpose of presenting the Rev. Dr. Cheever, pastor of the Church of the Puritans in New York, with a testimonial as a token of the honor in which the consistent course he has held in denouncing slavery as a sin against God is regarded in this country.

Lord Shaftesbury took the chair, and there were also present Lord Kinnaird, the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, Mr. Samuel Morley, the Rev. J. Wilson, etc.

The noble Chairman proceeded to read a short address to Dr. Cheever, at the conclusion of which, with a few earnest and appropriate words, he presented the rev. gentleman with a large and very handsome silver salver, and a richly bound copy of "Erskine's Speeches."

It was also intended to present a money gift, to be applied by the rev. doctor in furthering the abolition cause in America, but the presentation of this was deferred to another occasion, as the subscriptions had not all been received.

Dr. Cheever, in returning thanks, entered at considerable length into the question of slavery, viewing it in a scriptural light and as one of the greatest sins which it was possible to commit against the Divine law. He illustrated even the mundane retribution which overtook this crime by a comparison of the two States of Michigan and Arkansas. Both these States had been admitted to the Union in 1836, and in the course of twenty years Michigan had nearly three times the population, more than eight times the number of public schools, and in all other indications of civilization, wealth, and prosperity had immeasurably outstripped its sister slave State in the South, on the political and social degradation of which the speaker dwelt with much force. Now that the judgment of God, he said, had fallen on this great iniquity, by driving the slave States into the madness of a rebellion, an opportunity was given to his country of freeing itself henceforward from the stigma of an awful crime. The demand of the North should be one for the total abolition of slavery. If they attempted to effect a compromise with the slaveholding South, the judgment of Providence would recoil upon them hereafter with tenfold violence. Now the Divine mercy at last had given them an opportunity of clearing their country of an abomination, and a juncture had arisen, which came sooner or later to all people, when to maintain the government of the country it was necessary to maintain the government of God. He thought that slaves held in States which had not seceded should be purchased by the government and set free, and that they should confiscate the property of the slaveholders who were in rebellion and manumit their slaves also. They should forbid slavery in the district of Columbia, repeal the Fugitive Slave law, and forbid the traffic in slaves from State to State. If the North were to adopt such a course, and announce their firm determination of suppressing all slavery and trade in slaves for the future, he believed the course would at once command the sympathy and respect of all mankind (cheers). The duty of Great Britain, however, was clear. No matter what the issue of the present struggle in the United States might be, England should never submit to the degradation of recognizing a community of pirates as a nation. The North, he thought, would never prosecute the war with vigor or success. The military conquest of the South would become an impossibility unless the North threw off all disguise and timid half-measures by proclaiming the total abolition of slavery throughout the length and breadth of the United States. In conclusion, the rev. doctor stated that, in fact, only one single State had really seceded—South Carolina. The others had all been coerced into it at the point of the bayonet during the reign of terror which followed the secession of South Carolina.

Lord Kinnaird thought there was not much sympathy felt in this country for either party in the contest between the North and South, for the universal opinion in England was that both were equally insincere.

After a few words from Mr. Samuel Morley, proposing a vote of thanks to the noble chairman,

Lord Shaftesbury, in acknowledging the compliment, said it was astonishing to him, utterly astonishing, that the character of Englishmen could be so little known in any country that its people could, even for a moment, entertain the idea that they would sympathize with any slaveholding community. Personal freedom was as intimately associated in an Englishman's mind with the natural rights of all people as the very air they breathed. There had, however, been no great feeling in this country for either one or the other of the parties, for the country did not believe in the sincerity of either. The North had conceded everything to slavery that it could possibly demand, so the South had certainly no cause for rebellion, but in the struggle they were entering on the North never thought of putting an end to slavery, for if such a declaration had been made, they would have had the sympathy of every man in England; he was almost afraid to say how far he thought that sympathy would have gone. But the North had done nothing of this. Nay, it was rather remembered in this country that it was in Northern ports that slavers were equipped; from Northern ports they were sent forth; the flag of the United States afforded its protection to the vessels which carried on this fearful traffic in human beings; the Northern gentlemen held mortgages on slave estates, and derived their profits from them (cheers). Those who had read the last President's Message knew that the word "slavery" was not mentioned, even under the soft disguise of "involuntary servitude" or "domestic institution," and the only allusion to the future course of the North was that when they succeeded in restoring the Union they would conduct the government in accordance with the Constitution of the country. There could be no feeling in this country for either side with such a state of things in both. There was no honest feeling on the subject of slavery in America except among the Abolitionists, headed by that great and good man, Charles Sumner. Slavery was doomed. The South and North appeared almost equally determined to maintain it, but there was a Greater Power which had decreed that it should cease. England was at last happily seeking other markets for her cotton supply, and when the demand for cotton from America ceased, slavery would soon cease to be profitable, and then cease to exist (cheers).

Mr. Mark Phillips asked whether it was not a provision of the Constitution of the United States that Congress was precluded from interfering in any way with the domestic institutions of the separate States. Unless the United States government declared that the abolition of slavery was an object of this war it never could claim the sympathy of this country (cheers).

After a few words of explanation from Dr. Cheever, who stated that the rebellion of the South was daily adding thousands to the cause of abolition, and that he believed the time was rapidly approaching when slavery would be unknown in America, the proceedings of the meeting were brought to a close.

THE TREASON IN WASHINGTON.

Treason has been and is rampant in Washington, and there is no denying the fact, humiliating and ungrateful as it may be to all loyal citizens of the Union. The Confederate States, in armed rebellion against the United States, are vigilant to the minutest point in all that regards the least word or action that militates against their despotic rule. The Federal government has been and is lax to an equal degree as the rebels have been stern, uncompromising and barbarous. It is about time that the Federal government took a new tack if they mean to put down this rebellion. Facts are stubborn things, and I deal with a few of them for the edification of all loyal men. The following is a table of the number of traitors now in the different departments at Washington. The exhibition is enough to arouse the indignation of every true-hearted friend of the Union, and provoke the inquiry, why have not the traitors been weeded out before this, and why have not the departments looked before this to the heart of treason within, while the nation has been pouring out its blood and treasure to crush treason without? Here is the table:

	Known Secessionists.	Suspected
Treasury Department	45	29
Department of the Interior	20	16
Post-office Department	11	[illegible]
War Department	30	6
Navy Department	5	3
Attorney-General's Office	15	6
Department of State	2	1
Employed about the Capitol	7	4
Miscellaneous	8	1
Total	143	75

This is a beautiful exhibit of traitors in Washington for Union men to look at, and know that these same traitors have been receiving their livelihood from the United States government without let or hindrance up to the present time, and have been all the while working with all their might into the hands of Jeff. Davis & Co. Let it be understood there is no mistake about the above figures; they will be borne out, to the minutest figure, by the report of the Potter Committee, which will soon be published, and which shows an amount of secession treason in Washington which has hitherto been suffered to go unrebuked, that will be perfectly staggering to all Union men. The fact is, that treason has been running riot (I use the word advisedly) in Washington, while the people have been opening their hearts and hands to crush it. Is it not time to bring down upon it the crushing hand of punishment? But I have not yet done. I have other hard facts for loyal men to digest. It is also known that there are persons employed about the White House—servants and others—who are secessionists and traitors. And further, in the foundry of the Arsenal at Washington, eight men were recently pointed out and proved to be secessionists; they were arrested and discharged, and hired over again. As a natural consequence, it is known at Washington that some of the shells manufactured at the Arsenal, and used at the battle of Bull Run, did not explode. Of course they did not! Treason, unchecked, made them for Jeff. Davis & Co., under the leniency of the Federal government. If they had exploded with the power they should have done, according to their ostensible manufacture, the rebels themselves say the loss of life would have been terrible. Two items more: Of the Watch Guard at Washington, composed of fifty-two men, and appointed by the Mayor, thirty are known to be secessionists, twelve are suspected and only four are known to be Union men. I give you these facts with no captious spirit of fault-finding with the Administration, but with the hope the investigations of the Potter Committee will inaugurate a new order of things, and that the Administration from this time henceforth will go forward with the single purpose of not only crushing treason open and avowed and in arms against the government, but of crushing it at its fountain head—the Capital of the nation. A few of the many traitors at Washington rigidly punished would, in my opinion, be equal to a signal victory on the field of battle.—*Washington Cor. Herald.*

IS IT A REAL OR A MIMIC WAR?

From The Albany Evening Journal.

Senator Breckinridge, who, as is alleged and believed, was concerned in a conspiracy to seize the capital, in February, and become the head of a provisional government, after doing what mischief he could at Washington, attempted to excite the people of Baltimore to a renewal of violence. *And this was permitted!* The presence of five or six regiments is required to preserve the peace of Baltimore. And yet a known and avowed enemy, in time of war, is allowed to go there, and in a public harangue endeavor to stir up rebellion!

Popular sentiment, fortunately, was divided, and a few Union men were enabled to drown the voice of the traitor. But why was he not arrested? Where and when, in the history of rebellions, were arch-traitors thus tolerated? How many noblemen have been hurried "to the tower" for offenses venal compared with those of Breckinridge? How long would Louis Napoleon have reigned if he had dealt thus tenderly with his enemies? What would be the fate of Senator Wilson if *he* should attempt to address a secession audience, or even venture into secession territory? "A halter, and the first tree!" Indeed Union citizens of secession States are hung, or hunted away from their burning mansions and confiscated estates.

But here the order of things is reversed. We have been forced into an unnatural war, all the horrors of which fall upon loyal citizens, without provoking retaliation. Rapacity and ferocity—fire and rapine—the jail and the gibbet, distinguishing one side, while magnanimity and forbearance characterize the other! The skulking miscreants around Arlington, Alexandria, Fairfax, etc., etc., who shoot our sentinels, when brought in as prisoners are released on taking the oath of allegiance! Hissing traitors, who keep the enemy informed of all our movements, reside, unmolested, in Washington; and until very recently, if not now, occupy desks in *some* of the departments, receiving pay from the government for betraying its secrets!

It is needless to say that this ill-judged and ill-deserved forbearance emboldens traitors and disheartens loyal citizens. But it may not be unprofitable to say—and we say it with emphasis—*that this condition of things is unendurable, and will not be endured.* This turning of the other cheek to the smiter must cease. More than enough of these humiliations were endured before the war existed. We must now have "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth"—blow for blow, and blood for blood.

Actual war, all the severities of which have been visited upon Union men, has existed for a third of a year, costing us more than THREE THOUSAND LIVES and more than an HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS. The prosecution of the war calls for still greater sacrifices. Meanwhile business is paralyzed, property depreciated, and labor unrequited. The suffering and penalties of war must not, therefore, be all on our side. When such men as Breckinridge come among us, stirring up rebellion, if the government does not deal with them the people will.

The enemy strikes wherever he finds a weak or defenceless point. If a Union visor is up, a javelin is thrust by it; if a seam is found in our armor, its wearer is pierced. Privateers, to our great shame and greater annoyance, cruise with safety, capturing our merchant ships and causing consternation in our commercial cities. We held Fort Sumter, but allowed rebels, in reach of its guns, to construct the fortifications and batteries to which it was surrendered. We hold Fort Pickens, but in reach of its guns permit the enemy to entrench and fortify.

We have a NAVY—a navy which in other wars was not only our means of defence, our pride and glory, but the terror of our enemies. What has that navy done, or what is it doing, with effect, in this war? Has it rendered the blockade efficient? Has it achieved glory or won laurels? Where, along the extended and exposed coast of rebellion, has the navy made its mark? Where and in what way has it annoyed and harassed an enemy who is constantly annoying and harassing us?

Is it not time, we ask earnestly, that this war should assume all the features and inflict all the penalties of war? Can the government afford, any longer, to invent mitigations or indulge sympathies? Life and spirit must be imparted to the war, and zeal and confidence restored, by a radical reform in this respect. The enemy must be struck at wherever he can be hurt. Exposed places invite attack all along the coast. The Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, etc., either or all of which States have harbors, villages and cotton fields at our mercy, are not even menaced; and, instead of being required to defend themselves, they send their regiments to beard us almost in sight of the Capital!

We cannot close this desultory but earnest article better than by subjoining the following extract from a letter from an eminent American, just received, and dated—

London, July 21.

I hope soon to hear of vigorous action in the field, and vigorous action out of it, *upon all traitors*. People with whom I converse on these topics, on both sides of the channel, don't know what to make of us in these respects, and inquire if this business is serious or only boys' play. If the Savannah pirates are not hanged I hope the judge will be. There is mischief brewing here in the way of privateering, and I am anxious that those projecting such enterprises should realize that a fatal result awaits them.

THE WEAK POINT OF THE SOUTH.

Richmond, Va., Aug. 1.

The weakest of all the weak points of the South, as it was from the beginning and as it will be to the end of time, is *slavery*. The slaves in Virginia are treated with greater rigor now than they formerly were; the ferociousness engendered by war will render still more fierce the brutal instincts of the Southern overseer and slave-dealer. The sauciness and independence of the colored man increases in proportion as he approaches the boundaries of freedom. He is less docile in North than in South Carolina; in Virginia he becomes more and more restless; this restlessness increases in Washington and expands itself into sauciness in Baltimore; into positive impertinence in Philadelphia, until in the highest ranges of freedom in Massachusetts it develops itself into an absolute capacity for the useful enjoyment of liberty. The want of money in Virginia fearfully increases the restlessness of the slave, as he constantly trembles for fear of being separated from his wife and children, and of being sold at auction and converted into cash by his needy owner.

The consciousness of this gigantic weakness, and the monstrous fear and cupidities which cluster around it, play an ominous part in the hatred of the Yankee. The ladies of the South look forward with horror to the day when they will have, like other women, to live by their own honest industry, or by that of their husbands and fathers. Beneath that glow of indignation which frowns upon the Northern invader, lurks the hideous sense of self and pelf, and the brilliant eyes of those beautiful planters' daughters are flashed into wild fury by a womanly intuition of the real cause of the war; by a prescience of the day which shall strike down the planters' whip, and by loosening the fetters of the slave, deprive them of their lady-like ease, and compel the father and husband and brother to do, as the men in the North do, work for their living, and cease to keep their fellow-men in bondage. In connection with this formidable enemy of the South, I cannot forbear quoting the remark of a shrewd Virginian politician. He said: "Our purpose is distinct. We fight for the integrity and independence of our soil, for our national independence. Our object is tangible, but that of the North is not. The North fights for an abstraction. It fights for the restoration of a Union which has ceased to exist, and which can never be restored except by force of arms. Europe understands this and will recognize us, were it only to put an end to the civil war, and to put an end to the destruction of prosperity, which must react upon her own prosperity. Europe sees no object in the Northern war, as at present waged against us; but if the North were to make the war a downright war for the abolition of slavery, the prejudices of the Old World against that institution, would militate against us, retard recognition, and, above all, it would inspire the Northern army with a moral foundation for the prosecution of the war."

Another thoughtful man and a Union man here remarked to me: "This is not a civil war merely. It is a war of civilization against barbarism; of liberty against slavery. It is a war between the moral and intellectual and industrial culture of the free States, and the moral and mental industrial stagnation of the slave States. Our rebels represent the monarchical, absolutist, despotic instinct of America; the United States is the exponent of republican, democratic freedom and humanity, education, culture and progress, the living elements of the New World. Despotism, so often victorious in the Old World, may get a lease of power in the New, but only to be overthrown with a crash, which must shake the foundations of tyranny all over the world."—*Tribune.*

RUSSIA AND AMERICA.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

St. Petersburg, July 27, 1861.

As I have before written, the general sympathy undoubtedly felt in Europe towards the Northern States in the present struggle is chiefly founded on the detestation in which slavery, so identified with the Southern States, is held. So it is in Russia. The mass of the people—I mean the middling and higher classes, for the lowest have not enough intelligence to interest themselves in anything beyond their own immediate wants—know there is a war in the United States; that the Southern States have rebelled against a beneficial Federal government, and are seeking to establish a nationality founded on human slavery. This slavery they hope will be abolished by the success of Northern arms; and, therefore, they expect that an open declaration of war against slavery as such will be made. The President's message to the July Congress, you are aware, is almost silent on this point; and this surprises and disappoints the Russians who have read it.

The message was published in full in the St. Petersburg *Journal*, as well as in several of the unofficial papers of the city. The following are the editorial comments of *The Journal*, which will probably form the opinions of thousands of Russians on this subject:

"We publish elsewhere the message of the President of the United States to the Senate and House of Representatives. We observe in it a style less haughty and doctrines less absolute than might have been expected. Mr. Lincoln raises the question 'whether a constitutional republic or democracy, a government of the people, by the same people, can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes.' It is needless to add that the President of the United States does not for a moment hesitate to answer in the affirmative; he could not conclude differently; but it is not always well to follow the views of Jean Jacques Rousseau in the matter of government. The French people have experimented upon this system of philosophy, and their example will not tempt the world to renew the experiment. Mr. Lincoln acts, then, like a statesman in policy, if not like a Democrat, when he recognizes the right of a government to defend its Constitution and people. A prince who defends his crown, a nation which defends its territory, a country which defends its unity, do not only preserve their particular interests, but they also perform a grand political and international duty."

After quoting Mr. Lincoln's words in regard to his future policy towards the Southern States after the suppression of rebellion, the editor remarks:

"There is nothing in these words definite regarding the abolition of slavery. Wherefore, then, this civil war? Wherefore this panic on one side and this determination on the other? If the condition of the blacks be not changed after the triumph of the Union, we confess we do not comprehend the object of this fratricidal war."

This is the great fundamental error into which European journalists fall in regard to the present war, and in this instance it is clearly expressed. They fail to perceive that we are fighting for a nationality, and really not against the deadly sin which has so long disgraced a portion of our country. A few weeks ago I heard Spurgeon in London pray with the most thrilling fervor for the success of the Northern arms, because the fight was one which would "cut out the terrible cancer of slavery"—and from London to St. Petersburg the general impression is the same, and the entire population of Europe, thus impressed, are surprised and mystified with the singular respect which is paid by our troops and officers towards the "peculiar institution," without which our present troubles would never have arisen.

The following is a literal translation of a document sent to the Emperor a few days ago by a party of enfranchised serfs, who address the Emperor in the same terms that the people of other nations address the Deity:

"*Letter of the Faithful and Respectful Peasants of the Village of Malo-Bandora-Seniroka.*

"Czar, our father and benefactor: We have learned of thy gracious Imperial decree, which our priest has read to us in the house of God. Shortly after we received, through the civil authorities, a book, which was sent to us in thy Imperial name, and in which we see how thou, our father, dost busy thyself for our welfare, and what great grace thou hast shown to us, to ourselves and children, through all generations to come. Our simple hearts comprehend thy paternal love for us. Thou hast judged wisely as regards our need. May God give thee grace to reign for long ages in health and prosperity; we will never cease to pray for thee and for thy august family.

"Father, full of goodness, receive the thanks of thy children of Malo-Bandora-Seniroka and of Krasnogora; receive this testimony of the eternal gratitude of our hearts. Better than we can, will our delegates personally express our gratitude. [Here follow the names of the delegates.]

"Now, father, give us thy benediction for our changed life, for that new order of things about to commence. We are assured that with thy paternal and Imperial blessing this new existence on which we are just entering will be calm and happy."

SENTIMENT OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

The following is an extract from a letter received in this city from an intelligent farmer in one of the rural districts of the West of England in relation to the Southern rebellion:

"Whatever the press of England may say to the contrary, depend upon it, the sympathies of her people are with the North. They abhor slavery, and I believe that if the law of nations did not prevent, thousands upon thousands of our gallant volunteers and militia men would gladly enroll themselves under the stars and stripes, and fight the battles and share the dangers of one of the most glorious republics which ever existed in the world.

"It is because it is a republic, and that you were traitors to old King George, that the English government, and especially the tories of England, look coldly upon the struggle. We have legitimists and ultra-monarchists here in great abundance, and I speak advisedly when I say that they, in common with their brethren on the continent, are anticipating the day when they may rejoice at the downfall of Republicanism, and sing paeans with all the snuffling enthusiasm of a covenanter that a monarchy is the only true government. In short, that there is nothing like leather."

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BOOKS FOR THE TIMES.

A Depository for Anti-Slavery and kindred publications has been opened in Albany, at 15 Steuben street, a few steps from the Delavan House. Among the works kept on sale at the Depository are: The Speeches and Writings of W. Lloyd Garrison, The Sermons, Lectures and Speeches of Theodore Parker, Congressional Speeches and other Discourses by Gerrit Smith, Sermons, Lectures and Essays of Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D.; Travels in Texas and the Slave States, by Fred. Law Olmsted; The Impending Crisis, original work and compendium, by H. R. Helper; The Life of Captain John Brown, and other works by Redpath. The Memoirs and Sermons of Rev. Dr. Channing, Isaac T. Hopper, a True Life, by Lydia Maria Child.

Also, the Speeches and Writings of Horace Greeley, Alvan Stewart, Lysander Spooner, John G. Whittier, Gerrit Smith, Wendell Phillips, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Frederick Douglass, William Goodell, George M. Stroud, C. C. Burleigh, W. H. Burleigh, Lydia Maria Child, A. D. Mayo, Harriet Beecher Stowe, James Russell Lowell, Henry Ward Beecher, John Quincy Adams, W. H. Seward, Charles Sumner, Joshua R. Giddings, Cassius M. Clay, William Jay, Samuel J. May, W. H. Furness, Lovejoys, Beriah Green, L. H. Chapin, Geo. W. Curtis, &c.

These works, with many others, will be sold at the publishers' lowest prices.

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☞ Donations are solicited to aid in printing and circulating Petitions, Tracts, &c.

Subscriptions will be received for the Anti-Slavery Standard, The Liberator, The Herald of Progress, and other liberal newspapers.

A good supply of Stationery will also be kept for sale at the Depository.

Friends of the cause, and the public generally, are invited to call.
LYDIA MOTT, Agent.

Philadelphia Advertisements.

COAL, STOVES, ETC., ETC.

The subscriber respectfully informs his friends and the public generally, that he has taken the store,
No. 104 NORTH FIFTH STREET,
formerly occupied as the Anti-Slavery Office, as a place of business for the sale of
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Having made arrangements with one of the first Coal Dealers in the City, to furnish the best quality of Lehigh, Schuylkill, etc., at the lowest cash prices, he hopes to give full satisfaction in this branch of his business.

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107 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia.

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COAL DEALER,
OFFICE,
153 WALNUT STREET, BELOW SECOND,
PHILADELPHIA.

SAMUEL WALL, HOUSE AND SIGN PAINTER AND GLAZIER, 336 North Sixth street, solicits the patronage of his anti-slavery friends and other readers of The Standard.

HELPER'S "IMPENDING CRISIS" of the SOUTH can be had, wholesale and retail, at the Anti Slavery Office, 106 North Tenth street, Philadelphia.

CARD.—ANNA M. LONGSHORE POTTS, M. D., Practicing Physician, No. 651 North Tenth street, Philadelphia, Pa. All cases in Medicine and Surgery treated with the most approved remedies, and most modern and scientific appliances known to the science. Especial attention given to Obstetrics and diseases of women and children.

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N. B. Sole agency for Butterworth's celebrated bank, vault and doorlocks. These locks bid defiance to all lockpicks, Hobbs included.

CONFECTIONERY—REMOVAL.—Leatitia Bullock respectfully informs her friends and the public that she has removed to No. 152 North Sixth street, below Race, opposite the old stand, where she is prepared to furnish ice creams, water ices, jellies, cakes, candies, &c., of every description and of the best materials, all the produce of free labor, and warranted to give entire satisfaction. Parties and families furnished at shortest notice. Orders sent to any part of the city.

Equality to all! Uniformity of Prices! A new feature in Business! Every one his own Salesman.

JONES & Co., of the Crescent One Price Clothing Store, No. 200 Market street, above 6th, in addition to having the largest, most varied and fashionable stock of clothing in Philadelphia, made expressly for retail sales, have constituted every one his own salesman, by having marked in figures, on each article, the very lowest price it can be sold for, so they cannot possibly vary—all must buy alike. The goods are all well sponged and prepared and great pains taken with the making, so that all can buy with the full assurance of getting a good article at the very lowest price. Remember the Crescent, in Market, above 6th, No. 200.
JONES & CO.

SIGN of the MAMMOTH PEN, No. 72 N. Fourth street (2d door below Arch), Phila., wholesale and retail stationery, blank books, &c., which we will sell lower than the usual prices. English, French and American cap, letter and note papers, envelopes, sealing wax, plain and fancy wafers of every description, very superior gold and steel pens, ink and inkstands, sand boxes, wafer cups, paper weights, plain and fancy penholders, drawing pencils and books, Bristol board, tracing paper, impression paper, tissue paper, visiting and wedding cards, pocket books, portfolios, backgammon boards, diaries, &c., envelopes at 10 cents per 100 and 90 cents per 1,000; mercantile firms, insurance companies, banks, &c., furnished with blank books to order, of the best materials and workmanship.
Friends' Marriage Certificates (a new Plate).
CLOTHIER & PEDRICK,
72 N. Fourth street, below Arch street.

TO THOSE WHO ARE UNWILLING TO SUPPORT SLAVERY.—During the last twelve years a store of free labor goods has been kept at the N. W. corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, in this city, for the convenience of those who wish to avoid the use of the fruits of slavery. It will scarcely be denied that the rejection of slave labor cotton, sugar and rice is a good testimony against slavery—fully as consistent against the system as a refusal to pay militia fines or to purchase prize goods is against war. Will not those who are willing to make sacrifices, if need be, to sustain their convictions on the latter subject, lend their influence in like manner against slavery? This is the only Grocery kept by a Friend in the city. Much care is taken to keep good Sugars, Syrups, Molasses, Coffees, Teas, Cocoa, Chocolate, Rice, Spices, Fruit, &c., and a variety of Dry Goods. The proprietor aims to sell as low as he can to sustain the business. With double the patronage, prices could be somewhat reduced; probably every article could be sold as low as similar goods in the market. Many are so sold now. Those who favor this Store with their custom, and procure their Teas, Coffees, Spices, Chocolate and Cocoa, &c., will find the articles good, and free from adulteration. On hand, Dried Peaches of superior quality.
GEORGE W. TAYLOR.